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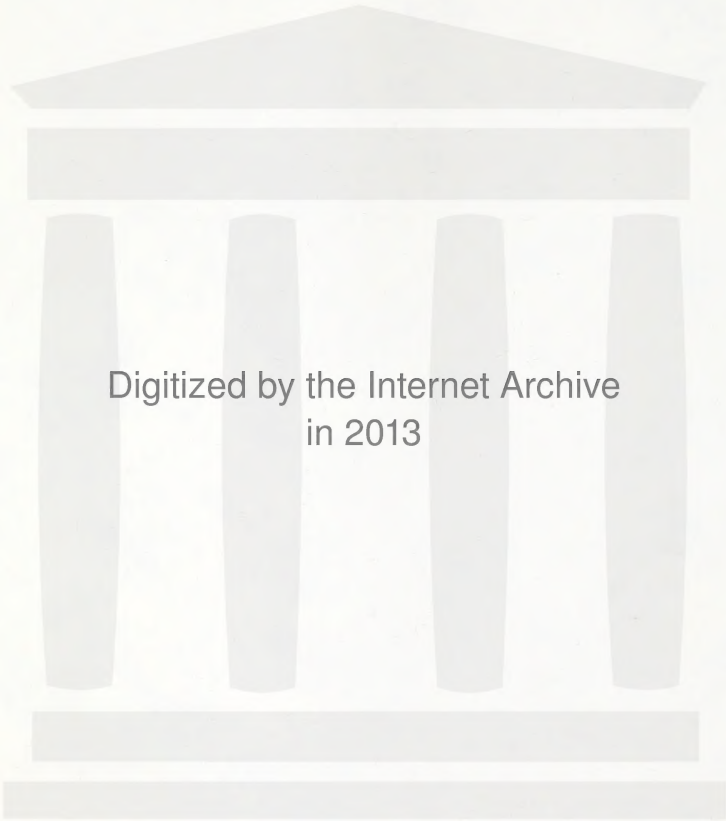
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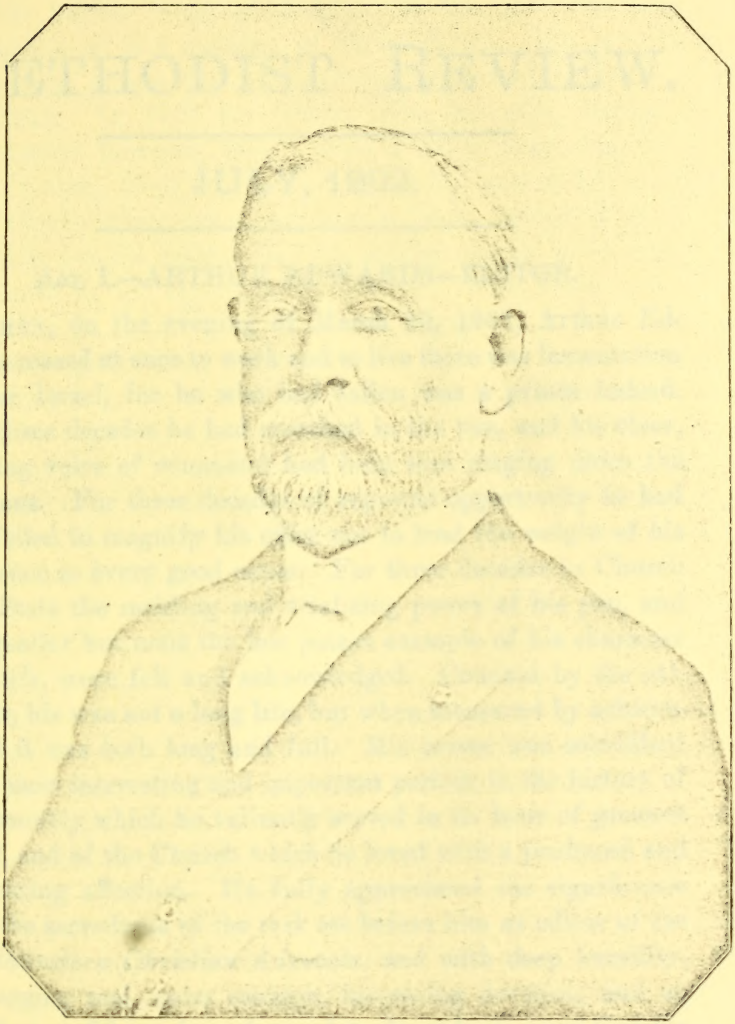

Arthur Edwards.

METHODIST REVIEW.

JULY, 1902.

ART. I.—ARTHUR EDWARDS—EDITOR.

WHEN, on the evening of March 20, 1901, Arthur Edwards ceased at once to work and to live there was lamentation in our Israel, for he who had fallen was a prince indeed. For three decades he had marched in the van, and his clear, stirring voice of command had been sent ringing down the columns. For three decades of supreme opportunity he had not failed to magnify his office nor to lend the weight of his influence to every good cause. For three decades in Church and State the molding and vitalizing power of his pen, and the gentler but none the less potent example of his character and life, were felt and acknowledged. Counted by the calendar, his was not a long life, but when measured by achievement it was both long and full. His career was coincident with most interesting and important periods in the history of the country which he valiantly served in its hour of greatest peril, and of the Church which he loved with a profound and increasing affection. He fully appreciated the significance and the sacredness of the task set before him as editor of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, and with deep humility, unflagging zeal, quiet courage, increasing devotion, and an abiding confidence in and complete dependence upon God for wisdom and guidance he gave himself up wholly to its performance. And as the years of his editorial ministry followed each other he had the unspeakable satisfaction of seeing the fruits of his labors manifest themselves throughout the length and breadth of the vast field which he so assiduously tilled.

He was born at Norwalk, O., on November 23, 1834, his mother being of English lineage, and his father, a native of this country, of Scotch-Welsh. His grandfather served during the Revolutionary War and in the War of 1812. In 1841 his father, John Edwards, having died, Arthur Edwards, then a child of seven years, was taken to Trenton, Mich., and placed under the care of his uncle, for whom the boy was named and by whom he was adopted, and who greatly desired that his nephew should be as well educated as his opportunities allowed. This uncle was interested in shipping on the great lakes, and it was doubtless through his early association with him that Arthur Edwards yielded to the enthralling fascination of the sea which held him captive to the end of his days. In pursuit of an education young Edwards entered the seminary at Albion, Mich., and after a year matriculated at Ohio Wesleyan University. Here he came into close and vital contact with such men as Edward Thomson, president of the institution, and Frederick Merrick, Lorenzo D. McCabe, William G. Williams, and William L. Harris, mighty men in the faculty, the first at the time filling the chair of biblical literature and moral philosophy, the second that of mathematics and mechanical philosophy, the third that of the Greek and Latin languages, and the fourth that of chemistry and natural history.

While a student in Ohio Wesleyan Arthur Edwards was converted, and on his graduation in 1858 he joined the ranks of the Methodist itinerants, and, entering Detroit Conference, was stationed as second preacher at St. Clair and Newport, Mich., modest towns on the St. Clair River, a narrow but important stream along which all the traffic between the upper and lower lakes passes. Surely during his brief residence at this place the taste for the sea and for things nautical, which had been implanted under his uncle's tutelage, must have been greatly stimulated. His appointment in 1859 was "Walnut Street and City Mission," Detroit, a charge which has developed into the present Simpson Church; and in 1860 he was assigned to Saginaw. When the civil

war broke out in 1861 he was one of the first to offer himself to his country, and went to the front as chaplain of the First Michigan Infantry. His military record was an unusually honorable one, although it covered a period of only two years. He faithfully followed his regiment, which participated in nearly twoscore engagements, among them the battles of Mechanicsville, Gainesville, the second Bull Run, Fredericksburg, and Gettysburg. When he resigned his chaplaincy it was with the intention of accepting promotion as colonel of a cavalry regiment, but he returned to the pastorate instead, and was appointed to Trenton and Wyandotte, in the former of which places he had lived in the home of his uncle. In this charge he served until 1864, when he was invited to become assistant editor of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*. He was the editor of the *Daily Christian Advocate* during the General Conference of 1868. He continued his connection with Detroit Conference until his death; for twelve years he was its secretary, and seven times his brethren sent him to General Conference, twice at the head of his delegation. In 1876 he was a member of the committee chosen to prepare a new hymnal, and in 1881 he was a delegate to the first Ecumenical Conference in London and read a paper of high merit on "The Statistics of Methodism Represented in the Conference."

In 1864, when Arthur Edwards began his editorial career as assistant editor of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, the chief official papers of the Methodist Episcopal Church were manned as follows: *The Christian Advocate and Journal*, Daniel Curry, in succession to Edward Thomson, who had been elected to the episcopacy; *Western Christian Advocate*, John M. Reid, whose immediate predecessor, Calvin Kingsley, likewise had been made a bishop; *Central Christian Advocate*, Benjamin F. Crary; *Northern Christian Advocate*, Dallas D. Lore; while his superior on the *Northwestern* was Thomas M. Eddy. There were important changes in the editorial personnel of these papers after the General Conference of 1868, Stephen M. Merrill becoming

editor of the *Western Christian Advocate,* and John M. Reid following Dr. Eddy on the *Northwestern.* In 1872, when Dr. Edwards succeeded to the chief editorial position on the *Northwestern,* he had for *confréres* on the several papers Daniel Curry on *The Christian Advocate,* Francis S. Hoyt on the *Western Christian Advocate,* Benjamin St. James Fry on the *Central Christian Advocate,* William Hunter on the *Pittsburg Christian Advocate,* and Dallas D. Lore on the *Northern Christian Advocate.* During the twenty-nine years of his editorship of the *Northwestern* he witnessed many changes among the editors of the other chief papers. He had outstripped all his colleagues in length of service; some had died in the harness, and the others were subject to the mutations wrought out by the General Conference. In that period—1872 to 1900—the *Methodist Review* had four editors—Whedon, Curry, Mendenhall, and Kelley; *The Christian Advocate* three—Curry, Fowler, Buckley; *Western Christian Advocate* four—Hoyt, Bayliss, Moore, Gilbert; *Central Christian Advocate* three—Fry, Young, Spencer; *Northern Christian Advocate* four—Lore, Warren, Sawyer, Titus; and the *Pittsburg Christian Advocate* three—Hunter, Wheeler, Smith.

When the manifold vicissitudes of General Conference elections are taken into consideration it is quite remarkable that he should have been chosen repeatedly, and always by a large vote, to succeed himself. His hold on the Church as far as his reelection to office is concerned may be inferred from the fact that in 1876 the General Conference reelected him by acclamation, an honor but rarely conferred by that body; while at successive General Conferences his vote was so large as to be substantially unanimous. So strongly were men allied to him, and so appreciative were they of his real worth, that at the last General Conference when it was suggested that a change in the editorship of the *Northwestern* might be desirable because of the incumbent's physical infirmities one delegate showed his hostility to the idea by declaring, "I vote for Edwards, dead or alive." With the

exception of William Nast, who served as editor of *Der Christliche Apologete* fifty-three years, the editorial career of Arthur Edwards, covering a period of thirty-seven years of consecutive service, twenty-nine years as editor in chief, and eight as assistant editor, is the most remarkable in the history of American Methodism. The nearest approaching record is that of Daniel D. Whedon, who was editor of the *Methodist Review* for twenty-eight years.

In analyzing his character and in seeking the reasons for his extraordinary career one is confronted by the fact that Dr. Edwards was in many respects an unusual man. He was possessed of a mental equipment which would compel success in any editorial field, so rich and varied was its character, and so readily available was it for his purposes. And this equipment was always being increased and rendered more efficient and serviceable. Rust was foreign to him. Everything that came within the range of his intellectual vision was immediately appraised with reference to its value to his paper, and if it was found useful it was sure to be used most advantageously. His mind was always well filled, but not with rubbish. From innumerable sources the streams of knowledge poured their treasures into the reservoirs of his mind, but these riches were never seized upon in any selfish spirit, or allowed to remain stagnant in the mind. They were quickly distributed unto the necessities of his vast congregation, and thus what had come to him was sent forth for the intellectual quickening and enrichment of many others. His paper, therefore, was always virile, and never dull. It was not a mere retailer of more or less reliable current news gleaned from the daily press, and served up with a few pieces of editorial connective tissue. He had better use for his editorial columns. There were many vital problems in the vast realm of human concerns to consider, and they were indissolubly related to the Church, therefore he gave the best that was in him to the discussion of them. And while it is true that nothing relating to human affairs was without interest to him, yet he found his greatest delight in contrib-

uting to his paper the materials which should yield the largest returns in the development of the heart, the mind, and the soul. He never lost sight of the fact that his paper had a religious mission, and that he was as much a messenger of God as any preacher who proclaimed the good news of the Gospel from his pulpit from Sunday to Sunday. Therefore its successive issues always contained something to instruct and edify the saints and to awaken the sinners and bring them to repentance. Speaking thus every week for over a third of a century to an invisible audience of many thousands, he was enabled to achieve a work which, if its results could be tabulated, would be found to be extraordinary.

Dr. Edwards was a man of remarkable fertility as well as versatility. Generally speaking, most men can do one or two things well. He could do many things unusually well. He had, of course, one consuming vocation—the editing of his paper, which was his passion. But he had a score of avocations, and such were the temper of his mind and the habit of his life that these were all placed under tribute to his vocation. His avocations drew him into many fields of human interest and contributed not a little to the rich furnishing of his mind. He could build and sail a boat; he was a capable amateur photographer, and an accomplished art critic whether in sculpture, painting, or natural scenery; he could handle a gun and revolver with the proficiency of a cavalryman; he was thoroughly informed on the technical side of naval affairs, and could converse as accurately and amply on the details of naval architecture, armament, navigation, and kindred themes as a naval officer; for mathematics and the mechanical sciences he confessed an irresistible fascination; the birds of the air, the fish of the sea, and the beasts of the field and forest found a keen admirer and loyal friend in him; while not a cartographer in the technical and limited sense, yet he was a devoted student of the science of map-making and was possessed of a vast amount of exact and valuable information related to it; though he never assumed to discuss the science of medicine in a professional

way, yet there was no development in that field that did not receive his eager attention, and as a consequence he could discuss a case with an astonishing exactness of physiological and therapeutical detail that revealed not only a natural inclination toward that particular field of study and action, but showed also that he had indulged his aptitude to some purpose.

But Dr. Edwards evidently did not enter these attractive byways for personal delectation merely, or to satisfy curiosity, or solely as a diversion from his regular work as editor. Rather he sought them for the substantial benefit they might yield for his appointed work. To him a rut was an abomination, to be shunned as the plague. He was in constant rebellion against the possibility of a man's becoming so wedded to one line of thought, or one source of information, or one point of view and course of action that he sedulously set himself against every tendency in the direction of intellectual isolation that he might discover in himself. Therefore he read extensively, his range of reading comprising a vast variety of subjects besides theology, history, and politics; and to a person unacquainted with his remarkable powers of assimilation and adaptation some of these subjects, could he have known them, must have seemed only remotely related to the great work which absorbed his thought and life. He knew what was going on in all the chief fields of human activity and achievement. The latest work in theology or art, in politics or poetry, in medicine or travel would not secure his attention any sooner than the latest great novel or history or government report. All were interesting to him, because all yielded material for his paper, and all of them were read. But he obtained inspiration from sources other than the printed page. The broad field was an open book to him, the babbling brook was refreshing to his spirit, the mysterious sea stirred the depths of his soul, the expanding heavens broadened his outlook. He was also an eager learner from personal observation and experience. It was not enough to read the reports of an industrial disturbance

in the daily papers; he must visit the scene of the riot and converse with the strikers and employers, and learn for himself what the cause and remedies might be. He was not satisfied to accept the news reports of a fearful blizzard, he must make a personal investigation and consider the meteorological and other authorities before speaking of the occurrence in his paper. When war was raging in the East between China and Japan the absurd announcements of the daily press did not trick him into publishing false statements concerning the nations involved, for he had so completely furnished himself with accurate data that he was entirely independent and could speak with the authority of correct knowledge. He was unsparing of energy, of means, and of time in his efforts to secure the information necessary to an accurate presentation of current events, whether in the secular or religious world, and to enable him to discuss editorially the important, serious, and often complicated problems in Church, in State, and in human affairs generally.

Some may have thought that because his name and fame did not reach out as far beyond the borders of Methodism as in the cases of other men, he was a narrow man, and greatly circumscribed in his ability. But this is clearly an error. No one who knew the quality of his heart and mind can think of him as having been a narrow man. He had too clear and comprehensive a conception of God, too deep a sense of the obligations of human brotherhood, too wide a sweep of intellect, too intensely sympathetic a heart to be a narrow man. All the tendencies of his nature rebelled at the idea of narrowness, and all the impulses of his life made for and emphasized the cardinal principles in accordance with which the life of the Master was organized and projected. He had, however, certain well-defined and tenaciously held convictions as to his personal duty to his appointed task. He considered that in electing him successively to the editorship of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate* the Church had reposed in him a sacred trust, and throughout his long career in the office his fidelity to that trust was attested to the satis-

faction of the Church. He was elected to be an editor, and an editor he would be. He might have expanded his reputation, have done much good, and have brought himself into greater prominence and possibly higher position if he had given more attention to preaching, and he might have increased his store of worldly goods had he yielded to the enticements of the lecture platform. But he was determined to abstain from such public ministrations in order to devote himself more completely to the specific task to which he had been elected by the Church. He did not minify either the pulpit or the rostrum by assuming this position; nor did he pretend to lay down a rule for anybody else to follow. In this public service he simply saw an agency which might diminish his personal efficiency as an editor, and as his chief ambition was to discharge his duties as editor to the very best of his ability he recognized the necessity in his case of conserving all his energies for this sole end.

The period of Dr. Edwards's incumbency of the *Northwestern* was an exceedingly interesting and important one for Methodism. It was a period of remarkable development and expansion. This is shown in the rough by the statement that in 1872 there were 10,242 traveling preachers, as against 17,583 in 1900; 11,964 local preachers, as against 14,289; and 1,458,441 church members as against 2,871,949. In 1872 there were 76 Annual Conferences, while in 1900 there were 124 Annual Conferences and 22 Missions and Mission Conferences. The development in what is more properly the patronizing territory of the paper he so ably edited was most marked. In 1872 the Conferences in Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Minnesota, and the Dakotas had a membership of about 275,000; while in 1900 it had reached about 530,000. The opportunity afforded him in molding the religious, social, intellectual, and civil life of the multitudes of people who were settling up the Northwest was wisely and successfully employed, and in a large measure the vigor, healthfulness, hopefulness, and the loyal quality found to-day in the Methodism of this par-

ticular section of the Church is due to the vitalizing and culturing influence of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate* and its potent, clear-visioned, and true-hearted editor. Living at the capital and nerve center of that vast western empire, which he saw reduced to ashes and then arise in greater strength eager for larger conquests, he was filled with its spirit, dreamed its dreams, and entered heartily into its far-reaching hopes and purposes. But, while capitalists were keen to reap the benefits of material development and consequent prosperity, he was none the less zealous to broaden and deepen the foundations of morality and practical righteousness, and to establish beyond the possibilities of disturbance the metes and bounds of the Redeemer's kingdom. He therefore cooperated heartily with every plan that had a purpose to quicken the intellectual and religious life of the people, or that sought to develop a higher type of citizenship, or to ameliorate the condition of the oppressed, or to benefit in any proper way the Church, the nation, and the people. The founding of an institution of learning, or the broadening of its scope so as to more fully meet the needs of the times, was a delight to his soul; the establishment of a church in a new community, where its beneficent influences would result in an inevitable improvement in the life of the people, was a work in which he heartily concurred; the opening of a mission in the great cities for reaching their vast populations with the Gospel, or extending the helping hand of brotherhood to the discouraged, the unfortunate, and the sinful won his deepest sympathy; while any movement to stimulate and deepen the patriotic impulses and affections of the people found in him a most cordial supporter.

In the discussions that raged about the many and varied questions which have come up for consideration before the Church during the last third of a century Dr. Edwards took a conspicuous and decisive part. On the floor of the General or Annual Conference he may not have been among the foremost debaters, but in the larger and calmer arena of the press he proved himself a worthy

foeman. In the solution of many of the problems of our Church life and polity during his editorship his declarations were frequently among the determining factors. He was fearless, frank, and fair in debate; always thoroughly prepared and competent to discover the weak spots in his opponent's armor. In all his contentions he never had any personal end to serve, but he was constantly solicitous that truth, justice, right, and that which conserved the highest good to the Church, the State, or the individual should prevail. To the consideration of questions that have engaged the attention of the Church he brought a well-developed mind, a vast fund of accurate information, a ready familiarity with the history and polity of the Church, a quick desire that the Church should come into possession of such agencies as might conduce to her increased efficiency, and a facility and felicity of statement which furnished illumination and produced conviction. Whether he was always, or even generally, right in the positions he assumed on the various current questions before the Church is a matter of individual judgment, each person interpreting him in the light of his personal opinion on the issues. There cannot be any doubt, however, but that the Church was satisfied with the candor, sagacity, vigor, and disinterestedness of his editorial treatment, and manifested its approval in his successive reelection to his editorship.

There was something wonderfully attractive about Dr. Edwards. His prominent position in the Church, as well as his acknowledged intellectual gifts, led men to seek his acquaintance, and once they came within his mystic sphere of influence they were captives, held as with hooks of steel by the ingratiating and exquisite charm of his personality. His sincerity was apparent to all, and he was always ready to perform those gentler individual ministries that sometimes seem insignificant in themselves, but in the end compose strands that cannot be broken. He was a noble knight, absolutely free, as those near to him knew full well, from those miserable littlenesses that dwarf and shrivel the soul. "The

truest mark of being born with great qualities," said La Rochefoucauld, "is being born without envy." Dr. Edwards was immune to the poison of envy. He rejoiced in the success of good men and causes. His life, as far as his relations with the outside world were concerned, was an attempt to put into the concrete the sublime principles of the Sermon on the Mount and Paul's matchless deliverance on Christian charity. Therefore, men believed in him, loved him, and were ready to suffer for him should need for such proof of devotion arise. This reciprocal regard which men throughout the Church had for him was a fact of which he was fully cognizant, and became a source of unalloyed joy to his soul.

A prominent layman who had known Arthur Edwards many years, speaking of his character and life, said: "He was first and always a gentleman; kindly, courteous, and genial. He gained, as he deserved, good will and friendship. I am glad he died editor of the *Northwestern*. Although apprehensive he might not live to complete his quadrennium, I considered it a duty and a privilege to vote at the late General Conference for his continuance to the end in the work to which he had consecrated the greater part of his active life." A Southern editor, himself a mighty man of valor, with whom Dr. Edwards had had many a tilt over political and social questions arising from the civil war, and especially over questions concerning the relations of the South to the colored race, writes of his old antagonist but revered friend: "In distant days we jousted hotly because our visors were down. His winged words flew direct, aimed swift as darts the hornet, but with the impact of grooved guns. His lance left no venom to fester. His portrait, all the while, had place of honor by the desk where we forged the shafts shot to Chicago." And another Southern editor, with whom also he had threshed out many a controversial point, but for whom he had the most tender regard, said of him: "My admiration for him has grown into settled affection. He was not only one of the greatest religious editors in the world, but also one of the manliest and most attractive

of men. We have not always been able to see eye to eye. On some points he thought me incorrigible, and on some others I felt sure that he was wholly wrong. But nothing ever disturbed the steadfastness of our mutual regard. I have said that he ought to be called Open Soul and Great Heart. For all shams, hypocrisies, and make-believes he had a sovereign contempt. Genuineness and sincerity were the characteristic notes of his nature. To have known such a man in the intimacy of formal friendship is a sacred privilege; to remember him will be a holy joy."

These spontaneous and worthy utterances illustrate the high esteem in which he was universally held by those who knew him well and were acquainted with the motives that controlled his life and determined his conduct; and this attitude of heart and mind was fully justified. Strong, sincere, sympathetic, courteous, courageous, patient, hopeful, virile, resourceful, he was a man who stood foursquare: a firm believer in the fundamentals of the Christian religion, an undaunted defender of that faith, a devoted lover of truth, a reliable and inspiring leader, a sane optimist, a wise interpreter of the signs of the times, a reformer but not a fanatic, a true friend of oppressed humanity, an ardent and clear-visioned patriot, a man of unsullied lips and uncorrupted heart—God honored him, and throughout his long, eventful, and fruitful career he honored God and blessed his fellowmen. His name is graven in the history of American Methodism beyond the possibility of obliteration, and the gracious results of his arduous and abundant labors shall abide forever.

S. J. Herben

Art. II.—THE DEBT OF THE CHRISTIAN WORLD TO RUSKIN.

Ruskin spoke and wrote on themes of art, political economy, and morals. He is placed in contemporary history as the great art student, historian, and critic, ranking foremost, perhaps, of this modern era. It is not, however, of the present purpose to speak of him in this character. We also pass over his personal history as a man, difficult as it is to disconnect the nobleness of his teaching, to which we have almost solely now to refer, from the nobleness of his life, without doing violence to both.

With other ends in view, it would be a matter of greater satisfaction to depart, to a degree, from the monographic unity of purpose set for this study, and linger on the parallel between the teaching and the life and character of the man who came from the bosom of a family warm with Bible truth and devout almost to asceticism; who, being heir to large wealth, yet steadily consecrated it to the public benefit; who with a spirit more lofty and heroic than Jephthah's because more enlightened and voluntary, made surrender to Love his own admiration and love, and yielded to a fateful invasion of other claims the dearest object of his affections—the wife and idol of his heart—thus doing the act of a self-crushing and sublime grace; who sought to teach the economists and commercialists the human side of society and of men, and the supreme authority of Christianity in every domain; who labored in opposition to the narrow, cold principle of artists and critics, "Art for art's sake," holding up to their wider view and the world's view the ennobling and purifying uses of all true art.

But here is the one thing we have now to say of Ruskin: he was a man in whom the thought of God was supreme; he was preeminently a great Christian teacher, and, as the critics call him, preacher, since impassioned appeals he made to the higher nature of man ran in no lower degree

and tone than that of preaching of truest ring. He was to many a bold and gifted seer and prophet. So when the transatlantic cables brought tidings of his passing away, on January 20, this word sprang into mind as the sum of his highest personal worth and meaning to the world. Writers have since employed the same expression, so imposingly does the prophet form force itself forward and hold itself in view.

To one who should glance over the Ruskin literature by title only this figure of him would not, indeed, stand out to view. Singular as it may, perhaps, appear, the strong, fearless teacher and monitor is not the least prefigured by any heading under which he spoke or wrote. He was preacher, if preacher we are to call him, without any of the obvious accompaniments or environments of such a functionary; without expectation on part of any of his deliverances in that rôle; with no authority but that of conscience and conscious power, with no credentials but eternal truth. Yet, if that personality called the man of art wrote or stood forward to enlighten and entertain people whose ears were open for such an event, there stood also with him the twin personality nurtured, versed, and cultured in things that pertain to the profoundest concerns of human life and destiny. And on all possible occasions and all themes, whether in professional lecture, in public address, or in his more voluminous works, the great soul, the deeply fired spirit, mounted above the masterly mind and poured out a warmth and light of lasting, uplifting truth. Nay, it is possible that his teaching and preaching took such effect as historically they did because he pleaded for righteousness under no assumption of title, in no official name or position, and addressed men as one driven by a consuming love of truth and goodness. He was independent of titles because superior to them. He is known to the world, the great and small, as simply John Ruskin.

A few brief characteristic expressions, here recalled, will serve to mark him as the origin of some distinct and effective influences in the Christian world, which we have set out to trace. Requested at one time by certain people to lecture and

advise them about the building of a business exchange with suggestions for its architectural-style, he said:

> You hear of me among others as a respectable architectural man-milliner; and you send for me that I may tell you the leading fashion. Now, pardon me for telling you frankly, you cannot have good architecture merely by asking people's advice on occasion. All good architecture is the expression of national life and character. You ask me what style is best to build in; and how can I answer but by another question: Do you mean to build as Christians or as Infidels? And still more, do you mean to build as honest Christians or as honest Infidels, as thoroughly and confessedly either one or the other? You don't like to be asked such rude questions. I cannot help it; they are of much more importance than this exchange business; and if they can be at once answered, the exchange business settles itself in a moment. . . . The only absolutely and unapproachably heroic element in the soldier's work seems to be that he is paid little for it; while you traffickers and exchangers and others occupied in a presumably benevolent business like to be paid much for it. I can never make out how it is that a knight-errant does not expect to be paid for his trouble, but a pedlar-errant always does; that people are willing to take hard knocks for nothing, but never to sell ribands cheap; that they are ready to go on fervent crusades to recover the tomb of a buried God, never on any travels to fulfill the orders of a living God; that they will go anywhere barefoot to preach their faith, but must be well bribed to practice it, and are perfectly ready to give the Gospel gratis, but never the loaves and fishes.

Again, in the same spirit, he is prophesying against the domination of self, which by its indifference and neglect of men leaves them to struggle with poor chances, the odds being against them. He says:

> I know that all this wrong and misery are brought about by a warped sense of duty, each of you striving to do his best without noticing that this best is essentially and centrally the best for himself, not for others. And all this has come of the spreading of that thrice accursed, thrice impious doctrine of the modern economist that "To do the best for yourself is finally to do the best for others." Friends, our great Master said not so; and most absolutely we shall find this world is not made so. Indeed, to do the best for others is finally to do the best for ourselves.

But note again what a realistic concrete Gospel the Gospel of the New Testament assumes when delivered through the

mouth of such a prophet. He was lecturing to workingmen at Camberwell, and said:

> You cannot serve two masters; you *must* serve one or other. If your work is first with you, and your fee second, work is your master, and the lord of work, who is God. But if your fee is first with you, and your work second, fee is your master and the lord of fee, who is the devil; and not only the devil but the lowest of devils—"the least erected fiend that fell." So there you have it in brief terms. Work first, you are God's servants. Fee first, you are the fiend's. And it makes a difference now and ever, believe me, whether you serve Him who has on his vesture and thigh written "King of kings," and whose service is perfect freedom; or him, on whose vesture and thigh the name is written, "Slave of slaves," and whose service is perfect slavery.

Here is part of another thought on work:

> Everybody in this room has been taught to pray daily, "Thy kingdom come." Now if we hear a man swear in the streets we think it very wrong, and say he takes God's name in vain. But there's a twenty times worse way of taking his name in vain than that. It is to *ask God for what we don't want.* He doesn't like that sort of prayer. If you don't want a thing don't ask for it; such asking is the worst mockery of your King you can mock him with; the soldier's striking him on the head with the reed was nothing to that. If you don't wish for his kingdom, don't pray for it. But if you do, you must do more than pray for it, you must work for it. And to work for it you must know what it is; we have all prayed for it many a day without thinking.

Words used by this unique and original thinker and moralist have at times so distinctly a *Ruskinesque* sound and position that we are to allow for this in considering the merit and breadth of a principle for which a word may stand. So in the following *dictum* he employs the term "taste" with vastly more than æsthetic meaning, as will be perceived:

> Taste is not only a part and an index of morality, it is the ONLY morality. The first and last and closest trial question to any living creature is, "What do you like?" Tell me what you like and I'll tell you what you are. What we *like* determines what we *are*, and is the sign of what we are; and to teach taste is inevitably to form character. "Nay," perhaps you answer, "we need rather to ask what people do than what they like. If they *do* right, it is no matter that they like what is wrong; and if they *do* wrong, it is no matter that they like what is right. Doing is the great thing." Indeed, for a short time, and in a provisional sense, this is true. For if, reso-

lutely, people do what is right, in time they come to like doing it. But they are only in a right moral state when they have come to like doing it; and as long as they don't like it, they are still in a vicious state.

Consider the noted and deeply discriminating passage on "the service of God," marvelous at once for its extreme simplicity, its directness, and its awakening effectiveness:

You are told to sing psalms when you are merry, and to pray when you need anything, and by the perversion of the evil spirit we get to think that praying and psalm singing are service. If a child finds itself in want of anything he runs in and asks his father for it; does he call that doing his father a service? If he begs for a toy or a piece of cake does he call that serving his father? That with God is prayer, and he likes to hear it. He likes you to ask him for cake when you want it; but he doesn't call that serving him. Begging is not serving. God likes mere beggars as little as you do. He likes honest servants, not beggars. So when a child loves his father very much and is very happy he may sing little songs about him, but he doesn't call that serving his father; neither is singing songs about God serving God. And yet we are impudent enough to call our beggings and chantings "divine service." We say "Divine service will be performed" (that's our word—the form of it gone through) "at eleven o'clock." Alas! unless we perform divine service in every willing act of our life we never perform it at all.

The statement went deep and wide when it was made, and has been oscillating in our preaching ever since.

The following will bring to mind one of the deepest and most eloquent lessons taught by Christ, though discoursed to a single person. We refer to the conversation with the woman of Samaria, in which Jesus revealed the true nature of worship as offered under a just conception of God's nature, and accordingly spiritual, therefore essentially independent of localities and houses:

I notice that among all the new buildings that cover your once wild hills, churches and schools are mixed in due, that is to say, in large proportion with your mills and mansions; and I notice also that the churches and schools are almost always Gothic, and the mansions and mills are never Gothic. Will you allow me to ask precisely the meaning of this? Am I to understand that you are thinking of changing your architecture back to Gothic, and that you treat your churches experimentally because it does not matter what mistakes you make in a church? Or am I to understand that you con-

sider Gothic a preeminently sacred and beautiful mode of building, which you think, like the fine frankincense, should be mixed for the tabernacle only, and reserved for your religious services? For if this be the feeling, though it may seem at first as if it were graceful and reverent, you will find that, at the root of the matter, it signifies neither more nor less than that you have separated your religion from your life. . . . We call our churches temples. Now you know, or ought to know, they are not temples. They have never had, never can have, anything whatever to do with temples. They are synagogues—gathering places—where you gather yourselves together as an assembly. . . . Now you feel as I say this to you as if I were trying to take away the honor of your churches. Not so; I am trying to prove to you the honor of your houses and your hills; I am trying to show you, not that the Church is not sacred, but that the whole Earth is. I would have you feel what careless, what constant, what infectious sin there is in all modes of thought, whereby in calling your churches only holy, you call your hearths and homes profane; and have separated yourselves from the heathen by casting all your household gods to the ground, instead of recognizing in place of their many and feeble Lares, the presence of your One and Mighty Lord and Lar.

Toward a like point, though varying from this in force, warmth, and effect, because uttered in a spirit more distant, is the lofty observation of Carlyle of the human preference for houses for man's worship over the great expanse of nature and the heavens, "that star-fretted Dome where Arcturus and Orion glance forever:" "Therefore do we, pitiful Littlenesses as we are, turn rather to wonder and to worship in the little toy box of a temple, built by our like."

These several extracts are cut out, as it were for citation, not as scriptures of mere beauty, but as notes of a voice bearing messages of meaning and purpose. They serve partially to intimate the spirit in which he discoursed his themes, the deep strain into which he was wont to fall, and the tone to which he ever and instinctively sought to set his teaching.

Now, what of the effect—the historic effect—of such sentiments, such deliverances, vigorous oft and fearless like the blasts of a prophet, but in form frequently eloquent and classic? We doubtless think we have been hearing things very like them most of our intelligent life. And if we seek to find in what soul and through what mouth these and like

strains were waked, an act of justice to his character and greatness as an instrument, it may be, of Providence, leads us to assign no mean share to the subject of this study. His own influence has reached us, as all great influences, once set a-going—great and intellectual influences—overtake and inform intelligences far and wide, away from their source and first inspiration; as the teaching and preaching of the great and good reach us not only by direct communication and fellowship with their spirits, but chiefly by transmission from tongue to tongue, from mind to mind. Their messages, their epistles to the world which their books and other writings may be called, are received by those whose immediate and particular concern it may be to receive them, and are thence diffused through and infused into the body of our teaching. Do we mean to ascribe such an influence to Ruskin? We do mean it as the result of thirty years of observation; and such observation is not without support from the testimony and judgment of those in scholarly position to estimate his greatness and give account of his influence. It may be made specific and particular under the general assertion that the teaching and what is called the preaching of Ruskin have had profound effect on the practical thought of the religious world. Without attempting now to define its nature and limits in times before he spoke on matters of Christian duty, not delaying to point out the universal sway of doctrinal and apologetic preaching and literature, we are confident that historic insight, long observation, and experience as well, agree that Ruskin gave great vitality, if not form, to much that has got to be more or less familiar if not commonplace religious teaching. Take his reprobation of the mercenary spirit which has always stood in the way of benevolent and philanthropic Christianity, wherein he describes even Christian people as so ready to enforce their faith but slow to push their charities and *live* their faith. Note also his indictment of the economic doctrines that, making self the center and self-interest the dominant concern, maintained the obeisance to riches, and crushed the

feet, if not the neck, of Christian sympathy and humanity. Mark how he not only deprecates but denounces praying for the kingdom of God if there is no willingness also to work for it. See to what bold loftiness of standard he raises the duty of doing right only in the love of it. Hark! with what prophetic energy he rouses the professed servants of God, otherwise resting in serene complaisance with their sanctuary performances, to recognize the truth that divine service, if done by man at all, is imposed on all the acts of his life. And finally, so far as we have recalled his vision of duty, hear with what sublime appeal and in what lofty reverence for the Supreme Presence in all the earth, he declares, as in a tone of authority, that our religion is parted from our life if we live as though God were set up only in our churches and not in our homes, and as though the house of God only were sacred, and not also the whole earth he has made.

Whatever of practical force and vitality has entered public religious teaching in the time of these and like ideas, is due largely to the bold and glowing insight and the eloquent and resistless influence of Ruskin. As it has been said of him as the apostle of art that "no one has done more to free art from conventionalism and superficiality, and to reveal its spirit and depth," so is it also true of him that he spent himself, in the ardor of his soul, to break up the conventionalism and inertia in moral and religious sentiment and practice.

Grateful Christian people will fitly associate his with the names and spirits of all those who, by their words and works, may have quickened in man a newer and finer sense of duty, or lifted them to broader and more thrilling thoughts of God and of human life. They will hold in honored and revered memory those of our gifted human kind, who have transmitted to us the treasures of their wisdom and the inspiration of their noble passions, which shall also light up the duty of gratitude to Him of whom their inspirations speak.

This is among the lessons evolved from such a study as this—grateful appreciation of all that is ethically grand and uplifting in the earnest and fervid teachings of such as Ruskin,

who could alike charm us with the literary beauty and purity of his speech. Ruskin's own lessons to us will guide us, by a sort of transidealization, to add to our grateful estimate of the Bible itself the significance and worth of all great and good books and works of art.

Now if we can conceive them grouped in one great library for the present contemplation, works of the kind that are instructive and informing, purifying, ennobling, sustaining, upon great ethical and Christian themes of the many and indefinite variations and dimensions, they represent the overflow of the Gospel into the world's literature and make up our Christian literature. They are the expansion and complement of the book we call "the book of books," and may be viewed as its vast function in civilization. Since the record of God's will, the repository of his truth is in meaning so overflowing that, given the mind, the spirit, the conscious needs and the problems of man, it must expand into larger field and occupy much of the philosophy, the science, the poetry, the art of the world. So develops the larger Scripture, the great Modern Bible, composed of the original trunk of revelation and the literary growth upon the trunk.

Has the Providence, by whose unseen hand the "sacred writings" have been saved and brought through long time and profound changes, had no immediate part and design in this overflow and enlargement of his truth? On the contrary, there is nothing radical, nor, perhaps, even novel, in the view that, with much of it, the hand of God has been in productive touch. Even outside sacred history, that is to say, some of the human agencies that have been employed in signaling and flashing the truth to the world and to coming times, have, as assumed by a class of writers, without dispute from others, caught their fire and fervor direct from the Source not human. By some means there have been brought within range of their view visions that purely human thought alone with its deepest insight, and human passion in its finest frenzy could not light up. Dr. Joseph Parker voices this conviction in his work *Ecce Deus,* where he says:

> Every foremost thought of God among men, every struggle of the soul in the direction in which God is supposed to have gone, has been an effect of the divine operation upon the mind. Intellectual history presents a succession of births, quite, in their degree and according to their nature, as inexplicable as any occurrence that could transpire in the merely material sphere. "The Holy Ghost has come upon and the power of the Highest has overshadowed" all those who have wrought upon the springs of civilization and enriched the resources of human life; poem and picture, book and statue, that have touched the world's soul, and given it any hint that there was a portion of the universe beyond the narrow visual line, or a deeper life in itself than could be sustained by bread alone, have been, notwithstanding the apparent irreverence of the expression, miraculous conceptions, fruits of the Spirit's strife with the human mind. The Spirit had to move upon intellectual chaos, and now all orderliness, or beauty, or music is attributable to his power. The grim specter of traditional orthodoxy may shudder at the notion, yet rather than pronounce the genius of civilization atheistic, it may be more reverent to describe it as a conception and production of the divine energy, operating through human instrumentalities. The excess of difficulty is on the side of atheism, not of inspiration.

These views, pronounced in unfaltering tone, seem to be well justified by a sober appeal to the history of human progress. Yet, perhaps, some may be ready with raised finger of admonition, bidding one to pause and hesitate at the step of individualizing under the category of inspired agencies, and of saying that this or that influence was mixed with or warmed with divine breath, this or that work was wrought under a superhuman touch, this or that life or mind, good or great, was elated by some special approach and presence of the good Spirit. Notwithstanding, since it is not really beyond the present progress for Christian faith to felicitate itself, compose itself, with this reassuring thought of the contact of the divine with the human mind, it should be considered within the limits of human vision to distinguish by the glowing tokens, the shining seats, the vocal walks, and the articulate works wherein the Spirit has kept company with men for a season or for life. So that his dynamic influence may be known as radiating not only from "poem and picture, book and statue," but from other varied creations, inventions,

discoveries; aye, from the activities of "all who have wrought upon the springs of civilization" who may have lifted up the thoughts and purified the ideals of men. It may not be possible to formulate the criteria by which this distinction of a soul or achievement is to be made out, and the high-reaching relations of some lofty nature fixed. But the deepest spiritual instincts of mankind will report truly. They will tell by the ruling purpose of a man and his significant relations to the interests of his fellow-men. They vibrate to his favor and honor if the like is true of him that has been said of Ruskin: "Great powers of soul were combined with great powers of intellect. Lofty ideals filled his mind and dominated his life. Dowered with princely gifts and wealth, he dedicated himself to the well-being of his fellow-men, and sought to exalt humanity to higher reaches of life and purpose." So, truly, if he but approaches the image described in such transfiguring features, to which we cannot refrain from adding the elegant and glowing touch of Dr. Hillis: "An apostle of beauty and truth, Ruskin was primarily an apostle of righteousness. Unlike Burns and Byron, Shelley and Goethe, no passion ever poisoned his purposes, no vice ever disturbed the working of his genius. Loving nature, his earliest, latest, and deepest enthusiasm was for man."

Testimony and tribute sounded in such free and fluent notes and running in a key so deep and strong, resound to the ethereal affinities of this rare son of man. And though no historic name affords luminous proof of man's filiation with the higher Powers, around which there have not gathered, fairly and amply, the orient signs of their thrilling fellowship, no shade of doubt may fall on the title of the name now in our thought, that beams with a light so chaste and unwavering, and that needed not life's last eclipse to disclose to the world its flaming corona.

Jno. F. Bonnell.

Art. III.—RATIONALE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

In his most able history of the Protestant Reformation Professor George P. Fisher points out as the four most prominent events of modern history: "The invasion of the barbarians, which blended the German and Roman elements of civilization, and subjected the new nations to the influence of Christianity; the Crusades, which broke up the stagnation of European society, and by inflicting a blow upon the feudal system opened a path for the centralization of the nations and governments of Europe; the Reformation, in which religion was purified and the human mind emancipated from sacerdotal authority; and the French Revolution, a tremendous struggle for political equality."* Of the capital importance of the French Revolution as an historical epoch there can be no shadow of disagreement; our interpretation of that great social convulsion, however, must depend much upon the philosophy of history toward which consciously or unwittingly we incline. Is history to be viewed as a series of biographies of heroes, standing out like beacon lights on a bleak and colorless shore? Is the function of the historian, as Froude would have it, "to discover and make known great men"? That history is mere biography is a fallacy that is fully exposed by the study of the French Revolution, which failed to produce a real hero or even a single man of the first magnitude of greatness from Mirabeau to Napoleon. History very justly recognizes great men, but finds much besides of no less concern. If history does not depend upon the caprice of demigods on the one hand, neither is it the expression on the other of a soulless fatalism. Thomas Buckle made a desperate effort in his erudite work on civilization to reduce history to a national science; he sought the almost complete elimination of the action of individualities and the establishment of an

* Fisher, *The Reformation*, p. 1.

irresistible, relentless tide of totality which simply is, and must be what it is, as a result of unconscious evolution. The mathematical exactitude of the science of history, it is safe to say, has never yet been demonstrated.

History is the truth about man; or, as Mr. Atkinson has so well said, "the story of the evolution of the social organization, and a true science of History is that which gives a right estimate of the mutual action of the various forces that have brought about that Evolution."* History has no room for the purely trivial and the merely commonplace, but concerns itself with the "important, vital, enduring facts and ideas." An orderly knowledge of the related facts of developing humanity is the real quest of the serious historian. That history is in itself one of the most attractive studies, one of the noblest concepts that can fill our thought, no one need be told. The words of Cicero are still full of beauty and strength; history is "the witness of past ages, the light of truth, the life of memory, the guide of life, and the messenger of antiquity."

It would be difficult—perhaps impossible—to select a modern state whose annals are more instructive, or the study of whose movements, whether of gradual change or revolutionary process, better enforces the fundamental principles of history, than France. Romanized Gaul early became an important part of the imperial domains of Charlemagne. France was not yet born as a people or as a government, but the famous Strassburg Oaths of 842 furnish an interesting proof of the beginnings of a French language and a semiconsciousness of national life, while the partition of Verdun the following year laid foundations geographical and political upon which after many vicissitudes later dynasties were to erect the most perfect type of centralized monarchy the world has yet seen. In the meantime it was on French soil that there arose the most perfect embodiment of that politico-social system known as Feudalism, whose contribution to universal history is even yet too little understood, and many

* *History and the Study of History*, p. 74.

of whose institutions endured to the very dawn of the great Revolution. For the first hundred years after Hugh Capet royalty with great difficulty held its own against the seigneur vassals. Royal tenure was successfully defended against republicanization, and that was all. The departure of a large number of French crusading princes for the Holy Land, and the heavy confiscations of the hardy Norman invaders proved each of immense advantage to the crown. While royalty and feudal aristocracy were battling for supremacy a great new force, the *bourgeoisie,* or people, was slowly emerging into actuality. The people collectively formed a potential democratic society, and in their growing dislike of aristocracy the balance of their narrow political influence was wielded for royalty; that is, centralization and ultimate absolutism in government. Louis XI astutely made the crown the bearer of democracy's power against the aristocracy.* The centrifugal forces were beaten back, the feudal princes were compelled to recognize the undoubted suzerainty of the crown; centralization had fairly won the day. It was the strongly centralized monarchy that saved France from the disunity of Germany during that long and trying period culminating in the blood-and-iron policy of Prince Bismarck. The real French democracy was "passing through the school of preparation necessary to develop the capacity for the democratic organization of the state."† The consciousness of the state was not yet aroused. Richelieu rendered it possible for Louis XIV to assert with much plausibility, if not literal truth, that he was the state; and the final creed of French absolutism was formulated by Louis XV in a decree of 1766, wherein that most dissolute king lays claim to power scarcely less than divine. The sovereign authority exists in my person; I am the supreme custodian—such is the declaration.

In the study of the French Revolution no more serious error can be committed than to suppose it was a sudden and complete break with the past; that it tore up as by a mighty

* Comp. Burgess, *Political Science,* etc., I, 127. † *Ibid.*

cyclone the very roots of the nation so firmly imbedded in Mediævalism and the Old Régime, and in a moment made all things new. Mr. Grant does well to point out in his recent book that modern France is not the creation of the Revolution alone, "but also of the line of great rulers that stretches far back, and among others of Louis XI, of Henry of Navarre, of Richelieu and of Louis XIV and Colbert."* There can be no comprehension of the Revolution without an appreciative study of the Monarchy and the Old Régime; and to understand French absolutism one must begin his studies at least as far back as the time when Louis XI, with deep insight into men and things, broke the military power of the aristocracy and dextrously drew into his own hands the emerging power of the *bourgeoisie*. To see in the monarchy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries only wicked extravagance, hopeless court corruption, and a hierarchy of falsehood and folly is to fail to perceive the unquestionable good of monarchy as a step beyond dominant feudalism, and to recognize absolutism of government as a preparation for the ultimate expression of national democracy. Monarchy "had saved France from internal disorder and foreign dominion, and had enlarged her frontiers. It had secured her unity of language, customs, and administration, and had allowed a high form of civilization to spread through the country. It had fostered and stimulated the sense of nationality."† In the end, it is true, the old monarchy failed, as it deserved to fail, ignominiously; but in all the shifting scenes of later French history its influence has survived. The deeper waters of the great onflowing current of French life have not been so violently perturbed by the eddying *coups d'état* and even the white cap revolutions, as we are prone to believe. Let us not for a moment imagine that either the unity of history was broken or the persistency of national life and tradition was invalidated by the French Revolution. Shailer Mathews is right in asserting that it "was no sudden outbreak of passion, still less 'an explosion

* *The French Monarchy*, 1483-1789, II, 273. † *Ibid.*

of gunpowder;' " but rather was it the culmination of a long social process.*

The Revolution was the resultant of many conspiring forces and influences, a mighty catastrophe whose very magnitude is an indication of the great length of time and variety of agencies required to produce it. And as De Tocqueville observes: "It was least of all a fortuitous event. It is true that it took the world by surprise; and yet it was only the completion of travail most prolonged, the sudden and violent termination of a work on which ten generations had been laboring."† That the Revolution was unanticipated by such keen observers as Frederick the Great, Arthur Young, Edmund Burke, and Thomas Jefferson is at first thought passing strange. Although Jefferson saw France "loaded with misery by kings, nobles, and priests, and by them alone," in the very dawn of Revolution, he recorded his belief that the nation "within two or three years would be in the enjoyment of a tolerably free constitution, and that without it having cost them a drop of blood."‡ But great events are not hastily to be ascribed to trivial or merely immediate antecedents simply because they come unheralded by the blare of trumpets. At least that most degenerate of kings, Louis XV, and his most notorious and unscrupulous paramour perceived that the government of France had by the middle of the eighteenth century become thoroughly inefficient; but unfortunately they were too abandoned to base and wicked self-gratification to care to avert the deluge they prophesied and all but precipitated. In theory all France was the king's private estate; he was the head of the administration, the source of power, the social pattern of the privileged classes. Unhappily for the monarchy the administration became hopelessly complicated while more and more unsystematically conducted; and nothing was in reality more incongruous than the vast pretensions to power and prerogative viewed in the light of the actual helplessness and puerility of the

* *The French Revolution*, p. 90. † Quoted in Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
‡ Comp. Hazen, *J. H. U. Studies*, extra vol. xvi, *passim*.

XVth and XVIth Louis. Nor can we grant either of them full excuse; if Louis XV was base and degenerate, Louis XVI became a trifler, caring more for a day's hunt or chase than for the gravest matters of state. Prominent among conspiring forces, then, working for revolution, was royalty and the court life following ideals that were persistently mischievous, rigidly—even blindly—adhering to pretensions too vast for even great and wise kings successfully to maintain.

Below royalty, in unnumbered instances its mere satellites, were the first two of the three estates of the French nation. Of these the Clergy, or first estate, contributed a full quota of causes for religious and social upheaval. The privileged clergy, that is, the bishops, archbishops, abbots, and other high Churchmen, must as a body be pronounced insincere, corrupt, and essentially useless. Their repression of new thought, their struggle against the Jansenists and persecution of the Protestants, their worldly professionalism and habitual simony, their oppression of the peasantry and the curacy, their too frequent imitation of royalty and the absentee seigneurs in extravagance, luxury, and debauchery—these causes and such as these ended, as they must everywhere and always end, in widespread unbelief (or mere charlatanism) and a bitterly antiecclesiastical if not positively anti-Christian spirit, which expressed itself with such telling effect in the philosophic literature of the age. "If the Revolution seems godless," argues a writer, "the cause is to be found chiefly in the godless Church of the Old Régime."* The Nobility formed the second estate, whose most natural line of cleavage was into the absentee lords and the resident seigneurs. Including buildings and great works the privileged classes, together constituting one ninetieth of the population, possessed above one half of all the property of France and paid approximately one tenth of their just quota of taxes. Insight will make clear that whether among nobility or clergy it is not pure aristocracy but absenteeism with its attendant evils that worked destruction to every best interest

* Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

of society. The original meaning of aristocracy is rule by the best, and we may be sure that privileged classes of any people enjoyed their privileges because they or their ancestors deserved them sometime. For in the development of human society things do not as a rule happen by chance. But the fatal mistake of these classes was a blind persistence in the belief that they could retain their places of power and influence long after they had ceased to render adequate consideration for their great privileges and immunities. It must even be charged against them that for generations before the assembling of the States-General the absentee members of the privileged classes, as a body, instead of protecting and sustaining the weak and helpless, mercilessly preyed upon them; instead of ministering to the spiritual necessities of the people, systematically extorted tithes and taxes from the people for the selfish indulgence of their own extravagant whims. To follow the king's gorgeous pageantry from place to place, to ape royalty in trappings and banquet and retinue, and to imitate the "well-beloved" Louis in the ruinous but ruthless chase over the wide captainry—in short, to be satellites of the crown—such was the absurd ambition of a pampered and resplendent, though now effete and bankrupt nobility. Such was unfortunately the height of silliness not only, but if persisted in the sure precursor of impending destruction. The Third Estate was beginning to raise its voice most audibly. What was the Third Estate? In reality, everything. What had it been up to that time? Nothing. What did it ask for now? To be something! The *bourgeois* by his industry and thrift was fast becoming the creditor of the nation and of the privileged; and in despite of the game laws that seem to have been made rather for beasts than men the peasant brought out his gun at last!

It would be a serious error to look upon the *tiers état* as a homogeneous body. By the eighteenth century it had begun to divide into classes, most important of which were the peasants, the artisans, and the *bourgeoisie*. The laboring poor later came to be known collectively as the *proletariat*.

Of actual serfs there were in France at the opening of Revolution approximately one million five hundred thousand, a greater number than either of the first two estates could boast. The peasants and *proletarians* were, speaking broadly, not only poor, they were wretchedly miserable. From the upper limit of the *bourgeoisie,* however, the nobility was constantly being recruited by the reception of wealthy commoners; and the *proletarian* came to regard the property-holding *bourgeois* as an hereditary enemy. Taxation may be set down as the principal but by no means sole cause of industrial depression and downright misery in France; yet when we have done depicting the terrors and the oppression of the *taille* and all its accessories, of the burdensome *corvée,* of the absurd and justly hated *gabelle,* of the *octrois,* the *lod,* the *ventes,* and all the rest, we have by no means given an adequate exposition of the causes of the unprecedented Revolution. Taxes were even heavier in certain parts of Europe than in France, and the serfs of Germany, Italy, and Spain were even more abject and wretched than the French peasants. Deeper but obscurer forces were at work surely and with accelerating rapidity undermining the "old triple body of wrong" of the Ancient Régime and creating an apparently all-pervasive *spirit of revolution.* The French people were silently and self-unconsciously, but none the less irresistibly, advancing. This advance, irresistible though it was, needed not necessarily to be the precursor of a violent social upheaval or political catastrophe; that milder type of revolution whose best illustration is perhaps the bloodless, "glorious Revolution" of 1688, wherein wise and timely concession follows discussion and added light, might have been achieved in France, if indeed a genuine spirit of sweet reasonableness could not have altogether averted revolution.

But for a long time the spirit of revolution had been forming itself like a gathering storm cloud in the breasts of the outraged and increasingly sensitive French people; and in the absence of interclass comity and efficacious administrative reforms to dissipate this storm cloud it must finally burst

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with the fury of a tornado, precipitating not revolt merely but revolution of grim aspect. Contributory to this spirit of revolution was a growing political discontent from the time of the Regency, which was augmented not so much by the actual sufferings of the people, genuine as were these, as by a pitying contemplation of themselves as sufferers. The keenest sense of injustice and inequality is only aroused when the victim comes to enjoy just enough freedom and to possess just enough intelligence to give him a subjective realization of his own wretched condition when compared with the more privileged. And the enthusiasm engendered by such a sense of pity becomes at length a tremendous force* akin to patriotism when national honor is assailed, and to religious passion under pressure of heavy persecution. The political discontent was aggravated and intensified by such blunders as the appointment of Cluny, that prince of squanderers, to the head of national finance, just when France had enjoyed a taste of what the honest administration of Turgot could do for the unprivileged. The spirit of revolution was also fed by the religious intolerance and hypocrisy of the century. As if Louis XIV's revocation of the Edict of Nantes were not warning enough of the evils that would follow such a course, Fleury put forth persistent endeavors to completely crush the Jansenists, who had long been under papal condemnation. But the spirit of revolution remained unformed and the discontent of the people undefined until the revolutionary philosophy of the age had rationalized the unrest and disseminated broadly the popular ideals that had been wanting. Volumes of destructively critical doctrines were reduced almost in a moment of time to maxims of the street and mere catchwords like "equality," "fraternity," and "return to nature;" and however distorted and misconceived by the multitudes, the works of Voltaire, Rousseau, and the Encyclopædists speedily created genuine, if only at first subjective revolution. The philosophical crusade was ushered in by Montesquieu, who found the standard of jus-

* Comp. Kidd, *Social Evolution*, p. 184.

tice in human reason; Voltaire, with his almost universal talent and transcendent brilliancy, may well be called the Erasmus of the Revolution; while the *Contrat Social* of J. J. Rousseau became the veritable "Bible of the Revolution," and its theory of ultrademocracy in State and Church gained such ascendancy over the prepared popular mind as to inspire a "fanaticism equal and closely akin to religious passion."* Indeed, such was the influence of the dogma of the return to the state of nature that the epithet "Rousseau's Revolution" has by some been applied to the whole movement.

While no great revolution of modern times may rightly be called simple as to cause and movement, at least three types of revolution are distinguishable: the religious revolution, the most notable example of which is without doubt the Protestant Reformation; the political revolution, as typified in the great struggle ending in the Cromwellian Commonwealth; and the social revolution, which has to do more specifically with the life of the people. The French Revolution was among other things a most bitter attack on existing religious institutions, but not primarily a religious revolution; it was a terrific protest against the abuse of absolutism, but not at first consciously opposed to the monarchic principle; it swept away forever the class solidarity of old French society and inaugurated the individualistic régime, which opened the path for a school of modern socialists, but it was not merely economic or industrial. As history is the synthesis of the several aspects or phases of history into a total, integrated concept, so the French Revolution is the resultant of many forces—religious, political, economic, financial, administrative—which together vitally affected the whole life of the people, and hence must be pronounced in the widest and truest sense a social revolution. Hence also it was exceedingly complex and intricate, and any attempt to explain its real significance from a single idea or keyword must manifestly be disappointing and fall far short of the whole truth. If the commonest activities of our little lives are the outward

* Grant, *op. cit.*, ii, 268.

expression of complex motives and plural causes, who can reduce the acts of France's twenty-five millions, multitudes of them frenzied and unconscious of their own tending, clamoring for a leader yet finding none who could comprehend them, to simple, consecutive expressions of a social self-consciousness? It is true that philosophy furnished an ideal for regeneration and reconstruction in the popular watch-words of the Revolution; but at the very moment when millions were shouting for "liberty, equality, fraternity," the actual goals sought were as different and the paths leading thereto as divergent as the concepts of liberty, equality, and fraternity in the minds of the various conditions and classes of men. Reduced to its lowest terms the Revolution is yet a series of complex phenomena; to teach that it is simple and plain is unwise and beside the truth. It is not accurate to affirm that from the beginning the entire course run by the Revolution was necessary and inevitable. In truth radically different turns might with perfect naturalness have been made at numerous pivotal points in the devious way. What if Necker had decided in advance the manner of voting in the States-General whether by estate or by poll and thus have obviated the initial clash of orders and the pregnant oath of the Tennis Court? What if Marie Antoinette had kept her meddlesome fingers away from the appointment and dismissal of royal ministers? What if Mirabeau had not died amid the early scenes of the great drama? What if Louis, after the gorgeous and spectacular fête on the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, had frankly and energetically put himself at the head of the new national movement when the nation's loyalty to him was both sincere and enthusiastic? These and a score of other equally pointed questions are pertinent queries for the self-styled philosopher who with ponderous verbiage and massive rhetoric perceives, *ex post facto!* the end from the beginning and the stern logical necessity of every intervening movement and *coup d'état*. Away with such fatalism! The Revolution might have been absolutely overthrown for generations if the mon-

archs of Europe had promptly made good the declaration of Pilnitz identifying the cause of Louis XVI and monarchy with their cause in deed and in truth. The Reign of Terror, in which so many see only a dreadful carnival of brute passion and bloodthirstiness, might have been wholly avoided had not a few hot-headed young men of the Gironde precipitated a foreign war which brought France face to face with as desperate an alternative as nation ever confronted. Young Bonaparte might have gone with multitudes of miserable suspects to the guillotine, and so with them have been irrevocably consigned to oblivion. Or an imperial *man* might have stood forth before the days of Thermidor with brain and heart big enough to assert unquestioning mastery over men, and safely led out his people from an Egyptian bondage. "Gods!" exclaimed Gouverneur Morris; "what a theater this is for a first-rate character!"

But to conclude. This greatest of all historic dramas went on with kaleidoscopic variety, a cataclysmic struggle between parties of revolution and other parties of counter-revolution, forgetting moderation but not escaping the stern law of action and reaction, losing sight now and again of original purpose and plans, yet coming at last to the great goal for which ten generations had been unconsciously striving. Stupendous as was the cost the result was worth it all. Regicide and Terror, Thermidor and Brumaire, Austerlitz and Waterloo—these were transient and superficial;* but feudalism was at an end; absolutism had become an anachronism; exclusive privilege was swept from French soil; the foundations of a new European society were laid; these abide. It mattered not that old and unforgetting Bourbons were restored in France or that Prince Metternich temporarily ruled Europe with sternest repression; the French Revolution had accomplished its end, and that end—if one word can express it—was a working ideal of *Equality*.

We have thus pointed out the commanding importance of the French Revolution as an historical epoch and suggested

* Comp. Judson, *Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 64.

that our interpretation of it must depend upon our philosophy of history. It was not an absolute break with the past, but rather a volcanic eruption of forces that had been gathering for centuries. Any appreciation of its full significance involves a careful study of the emergence of absolute monarchy from the feudal system as found in French territory. We have hinted at the legitimate contributions of the centralized monarchy toward French national unity and ultimate democracy, and taken the view that a long line of rulers from Louis the Saint, or at least Louis XI, have made significant if indirect contributions to the France of our day. The Old Régime was at length weighed in the balance and found wanting. Revolution, although unanticipated by discerning men, came at last as the resultant of many forces. Thus royalty persistently adhered to immoderate pretensions while practicing corruption and permitting grossest abuses; the privileged clergy had as a body survived usefulness and become instruments of oppression and extortion; the nobility, failing utterly to render value received for privilege and immunity, fed the revolutionary spirit that was rising. This spirit of revolution became more and more widely pervasive with the increasing bankruptcy of France and the emerging intelligence of the *bourgeoisie,* with growing political discontent and a pitying self-contemplation of the oppressed, and was at length rationalized and crystallized by the great flood of revolutionary philosophy. The French Revolution was a highly complex phenomenon and was essentially a social movement, deeply affecting the total life of the people. While the devious course and frightful occurrences were not marked out in advance by any fatalism or law of necessity, Revolution itself had become imperative, and in the end it has proven a great blessing to our common humanity. But let us ever pray for deliverance from a repetition of dreadful excesses and grewsome horrors.

Rockwell D. Hunt.

Art. IV.—MAURICE HEWLETT.

Maurice Hewlett is not one of those writers who are "paragraphed, photographed, and forgotten;" he has already won a firm foothold. He has been before the reading public but seven years—in fact, his prominence dates only from the issue of *The Forest Lovers* in 1898—yet he counts his readers beyond the hundred thousand mark. It is true that no one of his novels has sold in the three hundred thousands; Mr. Hewlett is too much himself, too flatly unconventional, to become thoroughly popular. Your truly Philistine author scribbles with one eye cocked at the dollars which his book will bring—as Carlyle gruffly put it, "writing extempore novels to buy farms with." Mr. Hewlett does not do this. He has set his standard high. He is a striking and welcome figure among living romancers. At the present time he is at the height of his powers, just turned of forty years, most of which have been uneventful. As he has himself said, a novelist's adventures happen chiefly in his brain. After graduating at nineteen from Oxford, where he seems to have done rather desultory work, "pursuing diligently every false god," he declares, he set himself to study "black letter" law. In 1890 he was admitted to the bar; having married two years earlier. Finding himself declining in health he soon gave up his practice and went to Italy. Returning to England, he obtained an appointment in the Land Record Office. Having thus a permanent means of livelihood he set apart his spare hours for writing. His days are passed mainly in a quiet world, which accords well with his tastes since he does not desire publicity. Unassuming and reserved, he is yet keenly appreciative of social pleasantry. If one were to stroll into the National Club at Whitehall Gardens about the noon hour he would probably find him lunching there in a group of congenial associates, himself marked out by a dark countenance, at once virile and thoughtful, of a slight Italian cast. As the jests flew around one would see his eye first

alight, but if after the lunch was finished one were to ask him for his autograph he would probably meet with refusal. For Maurice Hewlett is not at the beck of the public. He prefers to make himself known through his books. Here he talks as frankly as could be wished and with an abundance which recalls the primal May-spirit of Chaucer and the freedom of the Elizabethans. Full measure of this does one perceive in his first publication, *Earthwork out of Tuscany,* but little enough in his early verses. There is more poetry in his prose work than in the *Masque of Dead Florentines,* or the little brown volume of *Songs and Meditations* which Constable had the courage to publish a year after the "Earthwork" had appeared. The spirit of these stanzas is plainly classic rather than romantic and academic rather than native. They possess little individuality, little of the clear ring of his genius. Themes and treatment show isolation from the insistent problems of life. Sufficiently immaculate in the mechanics of poetry they are deficient in power.

But, poems aside, he struck his unmistakable chord at the beginning and has maintained its dominance steadily. *Earthwork out of Tuscany,* published in 1895, gave a new taste to the English epicure of books. Many persons indeed failed to understand it, dubbed it quaint and fanciful. Fanciful it undoubtedly was, but it was the fancy, one is tempted to say, of a confident young eagle first trying his wings. It was saturated with the spirit of art. That little company of a few hundred who read the first edition, for the book was by no means immediately popular, recalled their Pater and their Ruskin. This incisive criticism, dug out, as its title implied, from the Italian soil, possessed a freshness and, in a good sense, an earthiness appropriate to its origin. Religion he called it, when he explained himself in the preface to a second edition; making the best thing he could out of the best things he felt. But the characteristic note reappearing throughout is the love of Italy. One thinks of the kindred affection of Browning; Mr. Hewlett's love is likewise that of a poet. Particularly does he hold Florence in his heart: "So grew

Florence, and Shakespeare, and Greek myth, the three most lovely flowers of Nature's seeding I know of." Admirably he interprets this city of art and life. The reader who does not know his Italy misses much of the magic; the best touches are said to be the most intimate. Here and there the author perhaps slips the leash of a too eager fancy—there are whimsical leaps of thought not a few—but his enthusiasm is his excuse; the sunny warmth of Tuscany has stolen into his pulses and something of this the reader also feels on turning the last pages. Out of the whole, moreover, rises a genius which is unmistakable. One of the most authoritative of our living critics, Frederic Harrison, affirms that "the publication of the *Earthwork out of Tuscany* was an event in English Literature." The volume did not, nevertheless, serve to reveal its author to a large public; and since he printed nothing further for three years—save the almost unnoticed poems—his light remained hid under a bushel. He was deliberate in feeling a way toward his true ground, the mediæval romance. His next attempt,* *Pan and the Young Shepherd,* a prose pastoral, attracted only an appreciative few who saw in it a spirit of everlasting youth, a frank faith in superstition which bade defiance to nineteenth century reason. A faint aroma, indeed, of Theocritus is perceptible in it. The fragrance and mystery of the forest hang about many of the scenes. Nature is awake throughout:

> Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very heaven.

These are the chords to which Neanias, the young shepherd, is responsive, quite apart in his eager temper from a prosaic atmosphere of country life. He dreamed of the great cities beyond his fields; finally, climbing to the summit of a friendly mountain, he saw the world stretched out:

> Cornlands and forest, the river winding among meadow-flats, and right off, like a hem of the sky, the moving sea, with snatches of foam, and large ships reaching forward, outbound. And then I thought no more, but my heart leapt to meet the wind, and I ran.

*Although written earlier, this was delayed in publication until after the appearance of *The Forest Lovers.*

and I ran. I felt my legs under me, I felt the wind buffet me, hit me on the cheek; the sun shone, the bees swept past me singing; and I too sang, shouted, "World, world, I am coming!"

I know of nothing quite like this in recent literature, nothing so buoyant and elemental, so satisfying to the pulses. Equally vivid, too, is the sensation awakened by the scenes in which Neanias meets the Wood Spirits, the Seven Daughters of the Earth, within the forest. The lyrics with which they decorate the prose of the drama are often genuine outflow of poetry. I find nothing so good in the *Songs and Meditations* as these catches, which impart much of the charm of Shelley:

I started a huddled doe where she slept blinking her ears:
Ho! She leapt in a fright,
Shaking, and fled; the stamp of her trepitant feet
Shockt the velvety night,
And the rim of her eye flared white!
Light as a hare I gave chase through bramble and glade,
Through shallow and bight,
Where the warm sand lips on the frith; sobbing she fell—
O but her blood was bright
And Earth greedy this night!

I couchèd in reeds and heard the sough of the wind,
The wash of the tide
Rising and falling, rising and falling ever.
As the salt flow brimmèd wide
The reeds shivered and sighed;
And the great Night lay abroad like an ocean of dark
Still, till the heron cried
Out at his fishing alone; then I piped to myself,
But the melody faltered and died
When the moon silvered the tide.

Here is nature as well as art, and a joy not fostered by bookishness.

From the pastoral to pure romance was the triumphant step in Mr. Hewlett's evolution. He woke one morning, like Byron, to find himself famous: not in the same way, however, or for the same qualities. Little enough of proud disappointment, theatrical pose, and cankered sentiment is evident in *The Forest Lovers*. Everything is healthful and gay. One feels no languor in following such a guide to the farthest verge. There is no time or place, only the blue sky,

fresh air, men and women, but this is enough. The elemental simplicity of it is indeed perhaps its chief charm. One meets no problems; no mysterious temperaments which require the microscope through four hundred pages. Blood boils, and the passions strain at their leash, but the plot comes out as it should: there is no ingenious pessimism of a Thomas Hardy. Full of shifting color and rapid movement is the whole, with never a dry page. It smiles with the forest witchery of an "As You Like It." It softens also frequently to a deep tenderness and pathos. It is a brave story. Mr. Hewlett's masters are plainly Spenser and Malory, there is a trifling parallelism, nothing more, to William Morris, but the tale bears no marks of a copy. Wild and romantic is the plot, as the "Morte d'Arthur" gave warrant. Certainly there is something a little crude in the handling; a thought too much of blood and thunder; the strain of tense situations is too frequent. Evidently the author is still learning his craft, is not yet supreme over it. He has heaped together more material than he can well use. No such idle profuseness marks his later works; the noble parsimony of *Richard Yea-and-Nay* mounts a much greater height of art. In *The Forest Lovers* too many and too important things are made to hang on colossal improbabilities; in the "Richard" they depend chiefly, as they should, on the characters of the persons involved. Plot granted, however, the story is much as one could wish it. We are enjoined to forgive the framework if the characters are real and distinct. This they unquestionably are. Both hero and heroine are refreshingly sane; studies in mental and moral pathology are not the main object of the work. Prosper le Gai is a healthy young man with a high heart and a head carried high. His creed is simple, likewise his motives, but of emotion he has abundance. He is one of quick and, if need be, of terrible action. He laughs at death in battle and commands men as easily as sheep. His sword is often out, but always in a good cause. He is generous—almost too generous—to an enemy. There is prophecy of Richard in all this. Isoult, too, makes a thor-

ough conquest of the reader. Minor characters and episodes there are in plenty. The picture of the two young girls, Helvisée and Mellifont, who dwell with the great herd of deer in Thornyhold Brush, shows a beautifully romantic idealism. Never a mawkish tone appears in the sentiment. Vigor and tenderness, love and battle, blend in harmony. Here are no conventional heroes and heroines, puppets of a novelist's wires. The "shapes that haunt thought's wilderneses" have taken definite forms. Of a mistaken realism, "photographs of thieves' slums," meaningless fidelity and worse than meaningless details the public has swallowed enough during the past twenty years; as Mr. Hewlett himself has said, "the peeling and gutting of fact should be done in the kitchen." One book of true idealism is worth a shelf full of these productions. No picture of human life avails unless the significant stands out; significance has constantly been a feature of Maurice Hewlett's books. Least palpable to the reader who runs, probably, is it in his *Little Novels of Italy*, astonishingly frank studies of mediæval Italian life that seem at first sight to carry little with them. Yet plainly enough, after all, appears the ideal raised from the vulgar. The divine effect of worship of the Virgin on simple folk has seldom been better portrayed than in that exquisite word-fresco "Madonna of the Peach Tree." Vivid in the memory abide the descriptions of her appearances: to the three shepherd boys; to Can Grande, Tyrant of Verona; to the shivering crowd in the cathedral; and especially, perhaps, to the villainous group in the tavern of the Golden Fish:

> Against a mild radiance, softer than any lamp could shed, was a tall, shrouded woman's figure. They saw the round of her cloaked head, they saw the white stream of her under-robe run from a peak at her bosom in a broadening path to her feet. They saw the pure gray moon of her face, guessed by the dark rings where her eyes should be, watched with quicker awe the slow movement of her arms, lifted their own to what she held up, and to the running undercurrent of the two sobbing drabs muttered in one voice their remembered adoration.
>
> The tall shepherd rose by the help of the table, swayed and spoke. No one knew his voice again, hollow as it was like the sea-grumble.

"O Holiest, O Rose, O Stem of Sharon, O Tree of Carmel!" said he. "What wouldest thou with us sinners?"

This is of a piece with Browning's idealism in "The Ring and the Book." Like "The Ring and the Book," too, these stories are steeped in mediæval Italian atmosphere. There is exquisite fidelity in the setting. In connection with this reproduction of historical atmosphere protest has been offered, some of it a trifle hysterical, against Mr. Hewlett's unqualified plainness of speaking. Nowhere, certainly, is it plainer than in these descriptions of Italian life. Yet at many points the attentive reader notes that Mr. Hewlett observes tenderest care not to overstep the bounds of true modesty.

From any of the earlier works of our author to *The Life and Death of Richard Yea-and-Nay* is a long step. It stands apart in its majesty. Much loving care is evident in its shaping. It was written four times, in each case without reference to the preceding copy. It is a true historical romance. Its pictures of war have the epic ring of arms. It has also a "crashing speed" of movement and a noble objectiveness which are likewise marks of the epic character. The author seldom comments on his personages, never at any length. They speak for themselves; show their own charm and worth. No dictionary of motives is needed to explain them. There is a barbaric power in the whole story, a glorification of trust "in the strength of a single man,"* which harks back to the primal Germanic hero in "Beowulf." And one sees no lavishness in the shedding of gore. The occasion is always worthy of the sacrifice. There are no obvious "effects," little straining of human nature. Deeds and characters bear a vital relation. This web of human lives contains many and party-colored threads each of which shows distinct throughout its course, short or long. Jehane, "that stately maid who might uphold a cornice," is one of the few really lovely women of latter-day fiction. As has been aptly said, she is to be placed among that group in literature

* "Strengo getrūnode ānes mannes."

"that weren trewe in lovyng al hir lyves." That love is service, "service and giving," has never been better emphasized than in her. There is nothing colorless about her character; she is full of strength and resources, humble, yet unconquerable in spirit. And through the wicked turnings of the action she moves radiant in a simplicity and unconscious innocence that none disregard. Out of the supporting characters rises plainly the figure of Richard. The author has masterfully drawn him. In his death he is as great as in his life: here only does he resign himself to any power beyond his own. No such lordly character as his, none so admirably depicted, is to be found outside the greatest masters of prose fiction. Many single scenes in this book remain burned upon the memory: the death of old King Henry, the picture of the hall of the Lord of the Assassins, the plotting beside the Tower of Flies. Painful pictures they are, however, nearly all. Indeed, the whole is a high-wrought tragedy. With it rests for the present its author's highest achievement. Since it appeared, in the autumn of 1900, he has published a volume of short stories under the seemingly bold title of *New Canterbury Tales*. Brief as the stories are they reveal unmistakably the old power, the same grasp of character, and in none of his works is his delightful humor better revealed. That joyous story, "Eugenio and Galeotto," bubbles over with it. The dominant note is the sly chuckle of one who stands off to watch the frailities of human nature. Ludicrous situations abound. It is all an out-of-doors humor, too. The irony, of which there is a good deal, is always pleasant. It recalls the genial Chaucer; in fact it is largely in the play of humor that these tales are followers of his. Mr. Hewlett never quite reaches the irresistible magic of Chaucer, but he has something of the same quiet manner of producing effects. He is eminently the observer, quizzical and shrewd. Spontaneous, too, is his humor. It must out, however incongruous the occasion. He delights in mingling it with the pathetic and even the ideal, but seldom is any disagreeable effect thus conveyed to the reader. Moreover, there is never

any bitterness in Mr. Hewlett's jesting. It is not the mood of a man out of sympathy with the world. It is this sunny humor which makes the somber tragedy of the "Richard" endurable. It is a mark of all his stories and akin to that irresistible humanity which is so evident throughout his work: that joy in life. His genius is robust with infectious gayety. "The apostle of joy" some one has called him; and such apostles are always needed so long as men read books. He takes us out under the glad sunlight and the lucid air. We feel the abundance of all qualities welling up "with beaded bubbles winking at the brim." One is tempted to say that it is Browning writing novels, so strong and confident is the burst of optimism through all obstacles. Mr. Hewlett published his credo in his first volume, and has clung to it ever since: "I suppose I must be a very bad Christian, for I remain sturdily an optimist, still convinced that it is good for us to be here while the sun is up." This fullness of life naturally manifests itself in a power of depicting emotion. Here the greatest strokes are the simplest: Richard touching the dead face of grim old King Henry; his raising a great shield before his eyes when he tops the summit of the hill which overlooks Jerusalen. Such is the means by which Shakespeare indicated his greatest heights of feeling; in Ophelia's "I was the more deceived," or, Lear's "Pray you, undo this button." Mr. Hewlett generally chooses the moral crises of life for depiction. He emphasizes the value of the quintessential moments, which throw into high relief the significance of living. Daring there undoubtedly is in this, for only a master may venture on such ground, yet he has made few failures. Passion finds a true, nowise theatrical interpreter in Maurice Hewlett. Straining of nature seldom appears; when rightly depicted nature is terrible enough in its truth. Yet of dramatic power—true dramatic power—there is abundance. No single manifestation of his genius, perhaps, is so striking. Mastery, too, of dramatic contrast is frequently shown. Dramatic action is never lacking; it is not devoured by the study of character. He is dramatic with-

out being theatrical. With all his brilliancy, his imagination, Mr. Hewlett is not of the stage, stagy. He seldom overstops the modesty of true art. His work is conscientious. One cannot say of it, as Matthew Arnold said of Kinglake's, "How trenchant it is; but how perfectly unscrupulous!" Petulant critics—so many Jeffreys born too late—have expressed regret that he continually holds to mediæval themes. But so long as the mirror is held up to nature time and place may be chosen legitimately almost at will. All that one has a right to demand is the best exhibition and criticism of human life.

Much of Mr. Hewlett's criticism of life possesses that high seriousness demanded of permanent literature. Moreover, his view of life, of moral ideals, is eminently sane; free from intolerance and didacticism. He has a hatred, as every healthy man has, of cant. He does not perplex or prose his tale with a running commentary of any sort. Pertinent and keen, however, are his occasional aphorisms. "Until you have made a beloved of your saint or a saint of your beloved —it matters not greatly which—you will get little comfort out of your prayers." He has no religious novels, but all his novels are religious. The glorification of love is self-evident. Some one has said of *The Forest Lovers* that everybody in it loves somebody else, and none of his characters have "artistic temperaments." Most of his qualities, indeed, are refreshing after a dose of those novelists who, in his own happy phrase, regard art as "a kind of emotional pill." His effect, in short, is thoroughly healthful. In form, moreover, as in matter, he shows unquestionable eminence. Full of color and magic of phrase, chiseled finish, are his bits of nature description; almost always brief, omitting detail, seeking only by significant touches to convey the effect desired. They are suffused with subtle suggestion of emotion, yet never reflecting merely the emotion of the observer. Nature is not perverted, but interpreted. Magical in its atmosphere is the description of the starry night when Madonna of the Peach Tree steals upon the three shepherd boys; or of

the valley, high on Lebanon, where the Old Man of Musse has his palace:

> Dazzling snow-curtains, black hanging-woods frame it in: looking up on all sides you see the soaring pikes; and deep under a coffer-lid of blue it lies, greener than an emerald, a valley of easy sleep.

A more extended illustration, not, however, from his novels, is the picture of Florence in *Earthwork out of Tuscany*. It shows a deftness of phrase, an imaginative richness, which one had hitherto been led to look for only in Ruskin.

> You are never away from the velvet flanks of the Tuscan hills. Every street-end smiles an enchanting vista upon you. Houses frowning, machicolated and somber, or gay and golden-white with cool green jalousies and spreading eaves, stretch before you through mellow air to a distance where they melt into hills, and hills into sky; into sky so clear and rarely blue, so virgin pale at the horizon, that the hills sleep brown upon it under the sun, and the cypresses, nodding a-row, seem funeral weeds beside that radiant purity. Some such adorable stretch of tilth and pasture, sky and cloud, hangs like a god's crown beyond the city and her towers. In the long autumn twilight Fiesole and the hills lie soft and purple below a pale green sky. There is a pause at this time when the air seems washed for sleep—every shrub, every feature of the landscape is cut clean as with a blade. The light dies, the air deepens to wet violet, and the glimpses of the hill-town gleam like snow. At such times Samminiato looms ghostly upon you and fades slowly out. The flush in the East faints and fails and the evening star shines like a gem. It is hot and still in the broad Piazza Santa Maria; they are lighting the lamps; the swarm grows of the eager, shabby, spendthrift crowd of young Italians, so light-hearted and fluent, and so prodigal of this old Italy of theirs—and ours.

Nothing so good as this, I think, has been done by any contemporary. Everything in it is colored and shaped with artistic care. Full of a subtle, haunting charm it is, and a Grecian repose.

Something of abuse of this mastery must doubtless be admitted. Many euphuisms, declares Frederic Harrison, are evident; but they are euphuisms, he adds, not of prettiness but of power. "A too visible aim at the precious," says another. It is certainly a much-mooted style. The epithet striking is perhaps naturally the first which one applies to it. But this usually implies much that is scarcely true of

Maurice Hewlett's style, artifice, desire for effect, delight in the startling; in things which, as Lowell says, "go off with a pop like a champagne cork." Little can one find, whether in *Richard Yea-and-Nay* or elsewhere, of these gratuitous displays. There is always subservience of means to ends. Mr. Hewlett seldom says a thing because it is brilliant, as Macaulay did, but because it is true. As the artist he is to be reckoned with, always, in this matter of style. His is plainly a loving touch of words and phrases. "The one word for the one idea" is continually his search; and he seldom misses this felicity. A finality of finish marks his page. It is graced, too, with the subtler beauties of prose workmanship—alliteration, assonance, occasionally excellent cadence. "Through tears now the sun beamed broad over the gentle city where she lay lapped in her mossy hills." If the test of style be largely a gift of phrase, of happy turns of expression, Mr. Hewlett endures this. Dozens of quotable snatches rise to one's lips, things that are said in a purely satisfying manner. "The devil of Anjou sat eating King Henry's eyes and you saw him at his meal." This genius for felicitous phrasing is one of the distinguishing qualities of Matthew Arnold's style. Many of his happiest sayings are now the commonplaces of the critic's vocabulary. In general Mr. Hewlett's force of expression is admirable. At the same time his style is one of adornment; there are "golden-hearted" phrases and sentences that open like a water lily, as Lowell says of Chaucer. But only occasionally do they call undue attention to themselves, which is the main mark of preciosity. There is little real lavishness in Mr. Hewlett's style. It is much nearer the temperate than the tropical.

It is idle to deny, however, that enthusiasm carries his love of the unconventional too far. One finds not a little to quarrel with, one thing in particular which Frederic Harrison, being an Englishman, does not mention. This is the eminently disagreeable Cockney "ish:" "you must move briskish this day;" or, "the king sat on where he was for a

good*ish* part of the night." But there are other perversities and whimsicalities also; Carlylese assertions of right to use English as he pleases. Expressive, it is true, many of these epithets and phrases are; and one must forgive much to a master of expression. Such are not to be hemmed by iron laws. He is but a small critic who will allow no license here. But Mr. Hewlett has unquestionably abused his privilege somewhat. There are many archaisms, such as "do off," "her pair," "hoist" (as a past participle), "outgate," "to her-ward," to remain "on life." Not at all objectionable, however, are his new coinages; they are always felicitous: "a *shatter* of hoofs in the courtyard;" "woman indeed; *rounded* Melot;" "her hands folded *peacewise* below her bosom." Resourcefulness is prominent in our author's style. But in several cases the plain word or phrase would do as well as his far-brought one—to which the critic affixes a kind of high tariff. Much of the quibbling over Mr. Hewlett's strangeness comes, however, from a mistaken desire to see him as tame and ineffectual as the ordinary popular novelist; and criticism worthy the name has nothing to do with this quibbling. Of his abruptness and condensation, likewise, genuine criticism has little to say. It is usually your lazy reader who cavils at ellipses. Mr. Hewlett's stories are full of thought and emotion in little. Maurice Hewlett is not one of "your long and much talkers" whom Charles Lamb hated. At times, it is true, he produces a tension which looks toward the artificial; he tries to make art do what it quite refuses to do. He therefore sometimes jolts his reader: you have the sensation of riding in a railway car when the road-bed is not too smooth. Generally, however, the effect is rather one of power, of impressiveness; it holds the attention. It is undoubtedly a style full of nerves. It sometimes seems to be in a tremendous hurry, but it always has a destination. It has been well said that there are scarcely enough breathing places in his narrative, yet this is better than having too many yawning places. In short it will have been noted that our author always sins with the few; he is nothing if not

unusual. In his methods of narration he shows this quality. Blunt and frank he is to the last degree. He does not scruple to lay bare his purposes: "Olimpia out of love might make men miserable; in it, what might she not do? *I am about to tell you.*" Fearlessness marks his story-telling throughout; recklessness, almost never. These are two distinct things in art. Miss Marie Corelli is a flaming poster-advertisement of the latter. One must not forget of Maurice Hewlett that he is constantly the artist. It will never do to say offhand, "This is bad," of anything in his work. It is chiefly the things of which the author himself is almost of necessity unconscious which are his defects. For example, he unquestionably makes his personages too often speak the Hewlett tongue; dramatic distinction of character he does not always observe. Speeches not a few of Jehane's in the "Richard" illustrate this. So also this description of Isoult, spoken ostensibly by the Abbott, but really by Maurice Hewlett. Its incisiveness and point are no qualities of the worthy prelate:

> "Thus you shall know her, Galors," he said. "A slim girl, somewhat under the common size of the country, and overburdened with a curtain of black hair; and a sullen, brooding girl who says little, and that nakedly and askance; and in a pale face two gray eyes a-burning!"

Indeed, there is always a good deal of Maurice Hewlett in his own stories—an intrusion, pleasant or unpleasant, of self-consciousness. Undoubtedly the greatest art is not thus self-conscious. And it must be granted that one finds in Mr. Hewlett's work several points which thrust themselves forward with peculiar insistence and are taken *flagrante delicto*. Mannerism manifests itself in turns of sentence and phrase, in methods of depiction and of narrative progress, pleasant mannerism, however, to many. Indeed, apart from the principle that any mannerism is faulty, the question reduces itself to this: Is the manner pleasing? Decidedly so, one is tempted to maintain, in Mr. Hewlett's case. It is generally the mannerism with a smirk which disgusts; and of this no trace shows in his work. His mannerism is

rather that of frank masterfulness. I confess to a covert hatred of a romancer who tells his tale with a "by your leave, lady." Better an assumption of authority such as this in the opening of *The Forest Lovers:*

> I hope you will not ask me what it all means, or what the moral of it is. I rank myself with the historian in this business of tale-telling, and consider that my sole affair is to hunt the argument dispassionately. . . . Heaven help you, gentlemen, but I know what is best for you! Leave everything to me.

Many of these qualities of our author's style, moreover, may be collected under the title of personality. Unmistakably the style is here the man. The temperament exhibited is eminently interesting. He is high-strung, emotionally vehement, yet he paints many beautiful pictures of peace—especially that of the forest or the starlit night. A suppressed power is always present in his stories. They look you in the face; you feel that you are being addressed directly. By this means the utmost spontaneity and vigor are attained; a stark reality stands out. The author realizes his story intensely.

Despite such indications, however, it is difficult definitely to assign Maurice Hewlett's rank. After we have made the possible exceptions of Rudyard Kipling and George Meredith he rises far above the group of contemporary novelists. The flexibility of his genius presents a salutary contrast to theirs. He has betrayed no signs of writing himself out. He has no purpose save to represent human life. This he has done with rare fidelity and insight. He is perhaps the one living writer of fiction whose work bids fair to become permanent. It is indeed safe to say that Maurice Hewlett will attain a worthy place among those unforgotten novelists who have made genuine contributions to the study of human nature and human life.

H. T. Baker

Art. V.—THE NEXT STEP IN THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT.

"The danger resident in the huge national liquor bills reaches beyond misery and moral degradation. Civilization itself is menaced by the growing economic waste." Such are the startling words of Dr. E. R. L. Gould, lecturer on social economics and statistics in Johns Hopkins University and a special commissioner of the United States Department of Labor, who investigated the effects of the use of liquor in Europe and this country. And European statesmen are becoming conscious that the political, military, commercial, and industrial power of their countries is imperiled by the liquor traffic. Hence there are manifest indications of a renewal of the war against intemperance and the liquor traffic, and that this war will be waged on a broader and mightier scale than ever before. New weapons will be used, as in modern wars between nations, and while they may be as unnoticed by many as the smokeless powder or lydite manufactured by the peaceful chemist, they will prove as fatal in the war against the liquor traffic as do these chemical productions in battle between warring troops.

The most important, though as yet scarcely observed, new phase of the temperance movement is the economic. This is not to be distinguished from the moral phase of the question, of which it is really a part, but a part that has heretofore been ignored. The economic phase is, however, so many-sided and appeals to so many selfish interests that it attracts classes of men who regard the moral aspects of temperance with indifference, if not indeed with contempt and disgust. France was declared fifty years ago to be the most sober nation in Europe. To-day she is the most drunken, and this fact, Frenchmen declare, may mean, almost certainly will mean, defeat in war with Germany, defeat in commerce, defeat in industry. It is no wonder that her statesmen and thoughtful men of all classes have become alarmed, and that

a leading newspaper like *Le Figaro,* speaking of the intemperance of the French people, should declare:

> There is no choice given us in France; whether we like it or no we must go ahead and fight this matter or we shall disappear as a nation. These are not mere inventions nor mere forms of speech. Ask Dr. le Gendre and Dr. Debove, and inquire of any doctors, and they will say it is simply a matter of a few generations more.

Dr. Brunon declares:

> The alcoholism of the working classes threatens to put an end, and that shortly, to existing society. . . . Those who are indifferent may shrug their shoulders to-day. The question of alcohol will very soon take the first place of all questions affecting the state.

In this aggressive movement against the liquor traffic in France scientific men are in the lead. The head of the movement is an eminent physician, Dr. Grain, president of the national anti-alcoholic league, and aggressively associated with him are forty-two young doctors.

But France is not the only nation whose thoughtful people are alarmed at the perils threatening them from the liquor traffic. English statesmen are dismayed at the growth of the liquor power, which is beginning to dominate the legislature of the British Empire as it dominates legislatures in America. Lord Rosebery, while premier, in a public speech said:

> I am not a fanatic in temperance reform. I am, I hope, a sensible and level-minded politician on that and all other subjects, but I cannot but be struck by the pathetic urgency with which the appeals for dealing with this question come from every part of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales; and though I am not a fanatic on this question I view the uncontrolled condition of our liquor traffic as a serious danger. . . . It is becoming too great a power in the state. I go so far as to say this: that if the state does not soon control the liquor traffic the liquor traffic will control the state.

In another speech Lord Rosebery refers to the organized traffic as "a political ring which threatens to throttle and control the commonwealth itself." Not only the political system of England is endangered. Its industrial system as well is in peril. The time was, not long ago, when England stood at the head in the markets of the world, with no apparent prob-

ability or possibility that she would be displaced. But other nations have made such progress in efficiency of labor in recent years that British labor, in the words of Benjamin Kidd, "does not enjoy the some incontestably high relative position that it formerly did." Commenting upon this fact Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell, in their valuable book entitled *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform,* say:

> At present our most highly equipped and therefore most formidable competitors are our kinsmen across the Atlantic. America is commercially formidable not merely because of her gigantic enterprise and almost illimitable resources but because, as recent investigations have shown, her workers are better nourished and possess a relatively higher efficiency.

The better nourishment and higher efficiency are attributed by Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell to the fact that the American workingman spends less for liquor and therefore has more to spend for nourishing food. And this difference in the expenditure of his wages affects his income as well, since the excessive use of liquor increases the number of unemployed, many of whom are willing to work for simply what will keep them supplied with liquor and the smallest possible amount of food, and thus by competition they depress the price of labor. Besides its effect upon wages Dr. Gould calls attention to the fact that "the family budget of the wage-earner is not so flexible that liberal expenditures for drink may be made with impunity. So delicately adjusted is the balance that the status of a new generation is largely determined by the quantity of liquor the fathers consume."

The French consume more than three times and the English nearly twice the amount of pure alcohol per capita that is consumed in the United States. Intemperance has been encouraged in France by the absence of sentiment against the use of alcoholic beverages and from the moderate use of light wines the people have gone to the stronger liquors, such as brandy, and large numbers have finally become slaves of absinthe—among the worst, if not the worst, of the many injurious preparations of alcohol. It is authoritatively stated

that in the departments of the Northwest "the daily consumption of alcohol absorbs half the average salary of the working population." How besotted many have become is shown by the statement of Dr. Brunon concerning Normandy, where every person drinks, brandy being used in soup and even put into nursing bottles and given to babies in the cradle. Dr. Brunon says: "You should see the people coming away from the drinking shops on a Monday evening. Father, mother, children, friends, holding each other up and reeling along together." In the parts of the country where such drunkenness prevails the French workingman, who used to be intelligent and capable, has declined so rapidly that he is in danger of soon losing his industrial power entirely. It is this danger that causes *Le Figaro* to utter the alarming cry that unless France fights alcoholism she will "disappear as a nation."

It is estimated that of the 40,000,000 population of the United Kingdom 23,000,000 are consumers of alcohol. Necessarily the vast majority of these are of the working class, who constitute seventy-five per cent of the population. Of the $770,000,000 spent on drink in the United Kingdom in 1898 it is estimated that more than $500,000,000 were spent by the working classes. This enormous sum represented an annual expenditure for drink of about $80 for each of the 6,000,000 working people's families; more than one sixth of the entire average family income. No workingman's family can afford such an outlay for what may at best be considered a luxury although in nearly every case it is a physically injurious habit. It can only be made at the cost of such necessities as sustain the body—wholesome food, warm clothing, comfortable shelter; or develop the mind and character—papers, magazines, books, music, and the like. The sacrifice of these necessities lowers the standard of life and consequently the standard of wages, thus vitally affecting the financial welfare of the individual workingman. It also affects the employer, who has to compete in the markets of the world with those employing workmen whose standard

of life may be higher and their efficiency correspondingly greater. Falling behind their competitors, because of the inefficiency or diminishing working power of employees, employers will endeavor to make up the loss by reducing wages until this method reaches a point beyond which they cannot go. Efficiency is then victor, and this is one of the hopeful signs of the times. Employers realize that to maintain their commercial position they must employ sober men.

The United States is a more sober nation than France or England. Two facts have powerfully contributed to this result: the preponderance of our rural population until recent years, and the number of religious denominations which have been for the most part ardent advocates of the cause of temperance and of individual total abstinence. In France, with the exception of the few Protestant ministers, all ecclesiastics use alcoholic liquors. In England nearly all ministers use wine at least. Many have a financial interest in the traffic, one of the large brewery companies having among its shareholders one hundred and seventy-eight and another one hundred and thirty-three "reverends," including bishops, deans, archdeacons, and canons. Whether or not the followers of John Wesley are numbered among these we do not know; but many of the ministers of the Wesleyan Church have violated the spirit if not the letter of Mr. Wesley's rule against "drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity." How different the condition of England might be to-day if his followers had been as rigid in enforcing this rule as was Mr. Wesley himself is shown by the fact that, while in England the drinking of spirituous liquors increased from two million gallons in 1710 to twenty million gallons in 1742, the year Mr. Wesley's rule was adopted, during the next eight years the consumption of liquors had been greatly reduced, and from 1750 to 1780 the average annual amount used was only three million gallons. This change was not wholly attributable to Mr. Wesley, but it occurred during the years of his greatest activity and doubt-

less was a result of the restraints placed upon themselves by his followers, most of whom came from the drinking class; for, though restrictive laws were passed by Parliament, contemporary history speaks of them as a dead letter. During recent years there has been a quickening of temperance sentiment among the Wesleyans, and now many ministers—perhaps more than half—and many members are total abstainers. American Methodists, however, are not in a position to Pharisaically criticise their English brethren. We started well, but we, too, backslid. When the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized at Baltimore, in 1784, Mr. Wesley's rule against buying, selling, and drinking spirituous liquors was adopted as the law of the Church. Five years later the words "unless in cases of extreme necessity" were removed, making the prohibition of drinking absolute. The next year (1790), however, the words "buying and selling" were omitted and the words "unless in cases of necessity" restored. This was the beginning of a retrograde movement the demoralizing character of which is shown by the protracted effort—until 1816—to secure the adoption of a rule declaring that no stationed or local preacher should retail spirituous liquors without forfeiting his ministerial character. Three times the question of restoring Mr. Wesley's original rule was submitted to the constitutional vote of the Annual Conferences and the General Conference; but the proposition was not finally adopted until 1848. The agitation had been useful, however, and Methodism was a powerful factor in creating temperance sentiment, as it is to-day.

But high as our position is relatively it is really a dangerous one, and we are threatened with the political and industrial perils which stare France and England in the face. Of these the most serious is the political power of the liquor traffic, displayed by the decision of the attorney-general of the United States nullifying the law of Congress prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquor in any army post exchange, or canteen. This decision is a crime against the English

language, and shows that it is impossible to find words in which to frame a law that cannot be defeated by the judicial department of the government if it so desires. It also shows that the liquor traffic occupies two seats at the President's council board—that of the secretary of war and that of the attorney-general. The President would have been sustained by the people had he exercised the power which inheres in his position as commander-in-chief of the army and issued an order banishing liquor from the post exchange, and by so doing would not only have given effect to the law enacted by Congress but would have removed, at least during his term, the liquor traffic from seats at his council board. While the head of the English army, realizing the evil effects of liquor upon soldiers, has been experimenting with a view to the abolition of its use the power of two of the greatest departments of the United States government has been employed to continue and increase it. Whatever may have been the motives of the heads of these departments, the action of one of them, the attorney-general, has been the most serious blow to respect for law that has ever been given by a government official, and the two officials will be held responsible at the bar of history for the moral degradation of thousands of America's young men, and for political and social conditions that will cost the nation thousands of lives and millions of dollars. We are in greater danger from the political power of the liquor traffic than is any European nation. No interest of the people or the nation is too sacred to be sacrificed on the altar of its greed, and that few men in political life dare brave its frown is not surprising. They will not act differently until conditions so change that the advocates of temperance become more powerful politically than are the supporters of the liquor traffic.

This will take place, perhaps, sooner than many can believe possible, and, most probably, through economic conditions. The labor problem is the important problem of the day. It is pressing for a solution that cannot be reached

until the liquor problem is solved. Professor J. J. McCook spoke truly when he said, in an article in *The Forum:*

> I am not a total abstainer, either theoretically or practically, and I have always voted in favor of license. It is needless to say that I do not belong to the Prohibition Party. But anybody who can see must know that, considered merely as a question of social economy, of dollars and cents, of tax bills and public convenience generally, the drink question is the question of the day. The tariff wrangle is a mere baby to it. If intelligent, steady-going people could be induced to spend upon the drink question a fraction of the time and money they employ upon the other, we might hope for some real improvement.

Business men and workingmen will come to realize that the liquor problem vitally concerns them, and that, while all the different questions involved in the labor problem would not be solved by the purchase of useful articles of manufacture with the $1,000,000,000 now annually expended for drink in this country, many of them would be and the others would be more easily settled. But how can they be induced to see the necessity for this? In the same way that the North was prepared for the civil war: by the education of a generation or two of children. This is one of the means by which it is hoped to stay the ravages of alcohol in France. The minister of public instruction, M. Poincare, appointed a commission to inquire into the best methods of introducing such teaching in the schools, which commission recommended that antialcoholic instruction be grafted upon the already existing branches taught in the schools: upon morals, physiology, hygiene, chemistry, and the elements of political economy. The minister also sent a special letter to all his subordinates urging them to use their influence on the side of temperance. Teachers were also urged to impress upon children the necessity of abstaining from spirits. Not many realize how quickly generations follow each other upon the stage of action. The public influence of few persons is felt for more than a decade. The most continuous influence is that exerted by those whose profession or calling keeps them for a lifetime in constant touch with the young. These are

teachers in Sunday schools and public schools. They do not stir the emotions of their pupils as do impassioned orators during a political campaign. No teacher would think of swinging his arms, shaking his head, clinching his fists, or shouting in a loud voice while teaching a class in spelling or mathematics, yet the persistent, quiet daily instruction of teachers exerts a greater influence in the long run than does the impassioned oratory of the occasional stump speaker. The same effect is often witnessed in the more forcible impression made by a public speaker who appeals to the reason and judgment of his audience rather than attempts to arouse their passions. The criticism of his seventh of March speech which Daniel Webster most keenly felt was Whittier's poem entitled "Ichabod." Of its composition Whittier wrote:

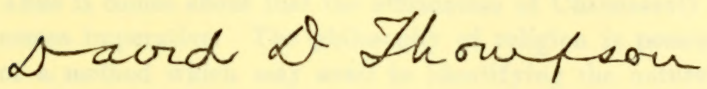
> My admiration of the splendid personality and intellectual power of the great senator was never stronger than when I laid down his speech and in one of the saddest moments of my life penned my protest. I saw, as I wrote, with painful clearness its sure result: the slave power arrogant and defiant strengthened and encouraged to carry out its scheme for the extension of its baleful system or the dissolution of the Union, the guaranties of personal liberty in the free States broken down and the whole country made the hunting ground of slave-catchers. In the horror of such a vision, so soon fearfully fulfilled, if one spoke at all he could only speak in tones of stern and sorrowful rebuke.

History has shown the blunder Webster made in the position he then took. Yet it is one of the revenges of history that the closing words of another speech by Webster—the reply to Hayne—did more to prepare the North for the war than did the utterances of any other man. While the ministers of various churches, and writers and orators like Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Whittier, kept up the agitation in favor of the abolition of slavery, by the constant repetition of Webster's words, "Liberty and Union, now and forever one and inseparable," the boys in the public schools were being prepared to enlist in the fight for the preservation of the Union. When the war came thousands enlisted to preserve the Union who would have refused to fight for the

abolition of slavery. So in connection with the temperance movement children in the public schools should be taught in an entertaining way the economic and physiological and hygienic effects of alcohol. This is now in part being done in many schools, thanks to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, though in few, if any, is the economic phase taught. Indeed that is scarcely anywhere known or recognized except by specialists. All these phases of the temperance question should be presented also in all young people's organizations, and by the Loyal Temperance Leagues of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Some may object to the presentation of the social and economic phases in religious gatherings. It is natural that there should be persons to offer such objections, for the Church has ignored, if it has perceived, the social teachings of the Bible, in which are to be found the principles which underlie our economic as well as our spiritual life. In the instruction of children, whether in public or Sunday schools, such material should be used as is based on scientific truth or is presented in a judicial tone. Nothing will help a bad cause more than the persistent utterance of falsehoods or error concerning it.

Perhaps the most important lesson to be impressed upon boys and girls is the fact that their business and industrial future may depend upon whether or not they use or have ever used alcoholic liquors. Business men are becoming more and more careful of the habits of their clerks and other employees. Many are required to give bonds issued by bond companies, and these companies all ask, concerning each applicant, "Is he of sober and correct habits?" All classes of persons, from cash girls to railroad presidents and other officials, even when they are millionaires, are required to give these bonds, and in order to secure them the applicant must be of sober habits; and if it be an important position, requiring self-control, he must be a total abstainer. On the American railroads not one of the eight hundred thousand employees is allowed to use liquor while on duty, and some roads will discharge one who uses liquor at any time. Even manu-

facturers are giving attention to the drinking habits of employees. One firm, employing twenty-five thousand men, will not permit the use of liquor during working hours; many factories will not employ men who use intoxicating liquors, and others make it a rule to drop drinking employees first when they have occasion to reduce their force. In the systematic instruction of children in temperance Methodism should lead, and it is to be regretted that the last General Conference did not devise some plan by which instruction might be imparted on a scale commensurate with our vast machinery—our pulpits, Sunday schools, and Epworth Leagues—and with the need of the times. If we should so lead other Churches would follow, and before a score of years had passed we should be ready for the final struggle with this monster. The young people of this generation will be the rulers of the next, and if they are wisely instructed they will demand the abolition of the saloon in order to preserve the economic as well as the political and moral welfare of the country. The politicians will comply with the demand, for the boys of this generation will then have become merchants, manufacturers, professional men, labor leaders, and workingmen, and the power of their votes will compel action.



Art. VI.—WHAT, THEN, IS CHRISTIANITY?

In what sense are we still Christians? We cannot adhere to our religion by inheritance, nor secure it by succession. Custom, which serves as a sort of guide in morality, fails to support what is so organic and internal as religion. For the new century, renewed beliefs become a demand; when the critical spirit of the day is once felt Christianity itself becomes a distinct problem. What is Christianity? The ideas of development and differentiation among the phenomena of religion, by virtue of which the principle of progress and the method of comparative study are made current, make the above question momentous. Ethnic religions in general manifest salient tendencies; universal religions give rise to concrete concepts; in the light of such ideas, what does Christianity seem to be? Surely it can be nothing commonplace; its mild maxims and gentle judgments arouse, in the mind of man, vigorous affirmations and vehement negations. Nowhere else in the history of human thinking is there set up such a sharp "either—or;" "He that is not for me is against me," says Christ, and we feel that his saying is true. Thus it comes about that the affirmation of Christianity becomes imperative. The philosophy of religion is possessed of a method which may avail in identifying the nature of Christianity, if not in developing its doctrines. At once there is made a distinction from theology. As in certain other philosophical sciences, a twofold method of treatment may here be applied. Religion may be differentiated from theology, in somewhat the same way that the philosophy of rights is different from the science of law; as, in æsthetics, the theory of beauty is not identical with the philosophy of art. In present thought, various popular writers have indirectly felt this distinction, and as a result have opposed religion to theology. This is not profound; it were better to devote philosophical effort to showing how the dual forms of philosophy of religion may be represented. Per-

haps it may be expressed by saying, Here is religion, there is revelation. At any rate, there is possible another and more general treatment of the Christian religion than that which is to be found in current theology. By means of the other method we are able to present a great interrogation: what is the Christian religion? Within the limits of distinctly Christian thought, particular doctrines have been distinguished and various relations set up. But what are the limits of the subject itself? When it is asked whether we moderns are Christians; when it is urged that the religion of Christ should prevail, it must be asked, what, then, is Christianity?

I.

1. The characteristic quality of the Christian religion is best seen when the light of history is cast upon the problem; where this religion has struggled to express itself, its inner meaning is most thoroughly appreciated. Already in the mediæval period there had not been wanting attempts to isolate and analyze the strikingly Christian element in the faith. Witness the much-disputed *Eternal Gospel* of the thirteenth century! In this work was for the first time brought out a philosophic view of Christianity, and its author anticipated that notion of progress in religion which was later to appear in Lessing and Schelling. At the same time this independent view of Christianity appears to have broached the modern question, "Are we still Christians?" As moderns, we to-day are sometimes tempted to feel that Christianity is mediæval, and that the progress of culture and civilization is urging us on to something unknown beyond. But the passage from the mediæval to the modern world represents no such culmination. Christianity persists, triumphing over the ruins of systems and empires. Man is still Christian. During the troubled period of the Renaissance what was more significant than the words of Petrarch, "I am sometimes a Platonist, sometimes a Peripatetic, sometimes neither one nor the other, but at all times I am a Christian"?

2. A study of modern speculation, or what is sometimes called rationalism, should make manifest the fact that, even with scientific investigator, freethinker, and philosopher essential Christianity still persists. Witness the testimony of a Descartes, of Deism, of a Kant! Secular and scientific thinking prevails in the Cartesian system; yet the latter is not without its religious significance. A skeptico-rationalist system turns out to be an apologetic. Eight years in the Jesuit College of La Flèche were sufficient to set a peculiar impression upon this young mind. In a similar fashion Descartes was influenced by the Jansenists of Port Royal. The larger and more independent training of this early thinker of modern times was carried on by the aid of the patristic thought of Augustine and the scholasticism of Anselm. Under such auspices, is it strange that this apostle of modern science and modern speculation should betray the essential principles of Christian thinking? Cartesianism is thus Christian. Some fervor may be lacking, but the Christian idea is there. In a new and unwonted form the inner nature of the Christian religion is presented. So far as Descartes's first principles are concerned, the starting point and method are Augustinean, while the essential result is akin to Anselm's ontology. Furthermore, the Cartesian method of treatment is more characteristically Christian than that peculiar mixture of Platonic and patristic thought which dominated in Augustine; is more consistent, in its discussion of Christian theism, than was the scholastic Aristotelianism of the "second Augustine." In becoming modern, Descartes becomes more and more Christian. Now this is probably because he based his ontology upon the principle of spirit, an idea alike Christian and modern. Spiritual life was Descartes's fundamental principle; in discussing the former he excels even Augustine. Moved by religious impulses, Augustine attempted a proof of the soul's existence and its independence of the world. The soul, with its obviously spiritual nature and with its manifest destiny, cannot find satisfaction in the natural world. Such was the method

of proceeding from the religious consciousness. Now, with a somewhat different spirit, Descartes reached the same conclusion. A clear analysis of the soul's life and an equally distinct conception of the world's essence led Descartes sharply to distinguish between the two, and whereas the dualism of *res cogitans* and *res extensa* fails to do justice alike to philosophy of religion and metaphysics, yet it clearly expresses that definite distinction of the New Testament in the light of which spirit and matter cannot be united, nor anything in the world given in exchange for the soul. It was just this distinction which separated Christianity from the antique world, and modern thought from mediævalism; when such a distinction became organic to modern thought there set in a return to Christianity. In a similar manner Descartes follows Anselm in the latter's attempted proof of a universal soul's existence. Setting up the idea of being in general, Anselm's ontology proceeded at once to the principle of existence; we have the idea of a most perfect being and such being must possess the attribute of existence, otherwise the former would not be perfect. Hence this most perfect being exists. Now the Cartesian ontology is less scholastic and more Christian; it is but a continuation of the personal principle worked out in the psychology. But Descartes does not aim to evince the reality of the *ens realisimum,* as such; he rather seeks to show the validity of the idea in man. To the personal, self-conscious soul the idea of God becomes as living and real as the feeling of personal existence; God, as an idea, becomes a demand of the soul in its speculative activity; and in spite of the coolness of such logic the essential spirit and method of Christian thought does not fail to appear. Without directly taking up the religious problem Descartes placed the stamp of Christianity upon modern speculation.

3. But the enlightenment did not share the mediævalism of Descartes, nor did it hesitate to take hold of the religious principle itself, and that with an earnestness which became overzealous in its warfare. Traditionalism and authorized

religion were set at naught, and in their stead appeared rationalism and naturalism. Where the system of natural religion served to emancipate religious thought in general, Deism, as a practical, political movement, aimed at separating Christianity from an established Church. When Deism sought both free thought and toleration it found it necessary to construct such a view of Christianity as should be in keeping with these principles. This it did by interpreting the New Testament according to rationalistic methods and by regarding theology from the standpoint of intellectualism. In the case of such systematic thinkers as Hobbes and Locke, with such popular deists as Tindal and Toland, such a tendency may easily be discerned. Here arose such ideas as, "the reasonableness of Christianity;" "the true Gospel of Jesus Christ;" "Christianity not mysterious;" "Christianity as old as the creation." With the vehement denial of established religion, there arose a forcible, though blind, affirmation of what Deism esteemed pure and original Christianity to be. As a simple form of worship, a copy of the religion of nature, was Christianity regarded. According to Hobbes, Christianity consisted in regarding Jesus as the Messiah; thus arose one of Deism's leading principles: the mere Messiahship of Jesus. Locke entertained similar ideas; he sought to limit the scope of Christian tradition to the four gospels; as a result, he succeeded in making a breach between the teaching of Christ and the theology of the apostles. Thus was the essentially double form of Christianity brought out. Toland sought to naturalize Christianity by regarding its history as "not mysterious." By regarding Christianity "as old as the creation," Tindal shows how inimical was the enlightenment to history. Toleration and rationalism were thus the guiding stone of Deism's view of Christianity; as a result of such a method, essential religion was emancipated. With all the vigor of deistic logic and law the kernel of Christianity remained unharmed, and when the state said the subject must ever be a believer in the Christian religion, Deism fiercely rejoined, "What, then, is Christianity?"

Deism had its own answer. Emancipating Christianity from ecclesiasticism, Deism had set up principles which could not long endure. Valuable as had been the philosophy of toleration, suggestive as rationalism had appeared, the essence of Christianity could not be expressed by the ideas of rights and reason. Toward the close of the enlightenment, these limitations were perceived; an obscure and a correspondingly brilliant thinker checked the development of rational Christianity. Henry Dodwell, Jr., and Lessing felt the spirit of Deism, but were wise enough to transcend its shallow method. In his little pamphlet, *Christianity Not Founded on Argument* (1741), Dodwell set all rationalistic interpretation at naught. Perceiving the inner nature of religion, and appreciating the peculiar character of Christianity, Dodwell showed how independent is religion of even free speculation itself. A distinctly religious, or inner, standard was demanded and an independent method set up. For historical religion Lessing performed an equally valuable service; his *Education of the Human Race* was a consistent apology for revelation. History, as a method of expressing the development of spiritual life, was vindicated, and Christianity, as a particular form of the religious life and having its peculiar doctrines, was justified. Universal history became spiritual, and Christianity divine. As correcting an earnest effort which had led men astray, these tiny tomes were of marvelous historical value.

4. As the result of Deism and of Deism's downfall, the conditions of Christianity were in the days of Immanuel Kant somewhat different from the atmosphere of Cartesianism. But here is a remarkable fact: Kant in his *Philosophy of Christianity* creates a spirit which, as in the more natural case of Descartes, was distinctly mediæval! Here arises a question: was Kant scholastic? No; he certainly was modern. Was Kant of the enlightenment? No; his thought was more advanced. What, then, is the attitude of Königsberg's sage? Like Descartes, he was mediæval enough to adhere to essential Christianity; he was sufficiently modern to treat his

problem philosophically. Kant's treatise on Christianity was entitled *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft;* but the limits set are those of the practical reason; the treatment is not speculative, but ethical. Yet Kant does not fail to make at least one fundamental distinction between religion and the ethical. Ethics proceeds from the good will (*der gute Wille*); religion starts out from radical evil in human nature (*das radikale Böse*). Thus Kant's treatment presses the realism to pessimism. Where human reason, in the speculative and practical critiques, is regarded as imposing laws upon both the natural cosmos and the moral world-order, man is here represented as standing in need of redemption! Thus does the modern pride of life and intellect take on a mediæval gloom. Christianity asserts itself; the religious life bespeaks its inner need. Human nature is the battle ground of the evil and the good; by virtue of the latter's victory over evil the kingdom of God is founded. Kant even goes so far as to clothe this ideal kingdom in the garments of ecclesiasticism, regarding the Church as the earthly representative of this realm of redeemed spirits. Thus, where the notions of depravity and redemption centralize in the speculative form of Christianity, the latter's essential nature does not fail to appear. Reaffirming Christianity in general, Kant has had the fate of emphasizing, for current theology, the particular idea of the kingdom of God as peculiar to this form of religion. Modern philosophic thought has thus borne a peculiar fruit. The rationalism of Descartes culminates in the idea of the soul's relation to God; the criticism of Kant, which turned modern thought upside down, settles the individual in the kingdom of God. Now, these ideas, modern as they are, do not fail to be Christian, and it was for the independent treatment of the problem of Christianity that the enlightenment contended. Thus the present manifests a remarkable condition of things; prominent among its questions stands out this one: what is Christianity? The opening year of the new century finds a Tolstoi saying, Christianity is that which should be affirmed; finds

a Nietzsche proclaiming it is that which should be denied with an everlasting nay! But what is this idea which modern thought has made of our occidental religion? Christianity is indeed a problem.

II.

Before there can be any thoroughgoing discussion of essential Christianity, it must be observed that, formally viewed, the latter is peculiar to itself. Such was the indirect confession of Deism as well as of Deism's opponents. How shall we to-day express the unique character of the Christian religion? Historically viewed, Christianity occupies a commanding position in the world. Christianity has conquered history and has adapted it to its own ends; its theory of the world and life are startling. Therein nothing natural or commonplace may be found. Let Christianity be denied, but let it not be said that Christianity is humdrum. All is new; nothing is usual; history repudiates itself. As De Quincey said, a half century ago, "Christian ethics are absolutely untranslatable in a pagan language." To express Christianity, its apostles demand gift of tongues! Where the antique world sought and found comfort in unbelief, Christianity believed that blessedness was to be found in faith alone. Christianity denied the world and affirmed the soul; with this new view and with this new relation a new life arose; that life was Christian. The ancient view became a vice; of the antique bad Christianity made a good. These were the auspices under which this religion arose; by adhering to it its followers felt that they were obtaining eternal life. This life was a spiritual one. By means of the principle of spirit, Christianity became what it was destined to be. It was just this idea which Descartes and Kant pursued in projecting their prospective systems; in the case of the one there was set up an opposition of spirit and matter and a certain inclination for pure thought; in that of the other there was a sharp distinction between freedom and law, and an appropriate fondness for imperative duty. Even Deism, in the midst of its blind negations and with its demand for a pure

Christianity, was affected by the force of the spiritual principle. In the world and in the soul, with Christian thought and Christian life, the notion of spirit predominates. Because it was not spiritual, the world was denied validity and value; because it was spiritual, the soul outvalued the universe. Faith became the one method of life because it represented the spiritual substance of things hoped for. Infused with spirit, life was transformed; thus it presented new aspirations and new duties; indeed, duty and the desire for the spiritual were hereby created. Universal became the idea and influence of the spirit. Negatively, the idea had challenged ancient speculation; now, in a more positive manner, it became the leading thought of Christianity. Man became a living spirit; there existed a spiritual realm in which he lived and moved and had his being; even the idea of God, transcendent as the latter was esteemed to be, was defined in terms of spiritual truth.

Characteristic Christianity has ever had its definite doctrines; those branch out from the general idea of spirit. Whether or not we may say that Christianity is the only theistic religion, it is the only one which *realizes* the idea of God. Valid as may have been the ancient notion of God, it never became the sentiment of worship. Worshipful as the oriental deities may have been in the heart of man, they could never represent the object of unifying thought. God is spirit! Here worship and speculation unite, for God is apprehended in spirit and in truth. Such a doctrine may thus be styled theology. Unity, universality, and ideality unite in this overarching principle. But Christianity, as represented by the teaching of its Founder, does not stop with this general notion. The spirit is a person, a Father. He has a spiritual realm, the kingdom of heaven. Thus Christ's teaching seems to centralize in the idea of God, his kingdom and his fatherhood; we have a Father in heaven and he has a kingdom on earth.

1. The kingdom of God is an idea as spiritual and Christian as the notion of God himself. Within this realm,

within the very precinct of religion, God is revealed and man is realized. Thus the kingdom represents divine design and human destiny. At the same time this idea represents the ideal relation of God to man. Not as a covenant-making deity, who has his peculiar people, nor yet as a national Jahveh, but as a Father of spirits is God represented. Such a relation is made possible by the idea of the kingdom. In the same, no violence is done to the absoluteness of God nor to the freedom of man as an ethical subject. The kingdom is the goal of life, when that life is regarded from the spiritual standpoint; blessedness is attained by those who, poor in spirit and pursuing righteousness even unto persecution, enter the kingdom of heaven. At the same time this kingdom stands for the end of creation and the ultimate aim of God. Aiming to make manifest the very mind of God, and anxious to content the spiritual aspirations of the soul, Christ had no better thought than that which he expressed by the heavenly kingdom. He turned away from the world, denying its value; and this was because he trusted in a spiritual realm which was not of this world. The believer in Christianity was exhorted to lose this earthly life and to find it elsewhere; where could that life be attained if not in the kingdom of God? For Christ and his teaching the kingdom was equal to, was more than, the ancient idea of the cosmos or the modern idea of nature.

2. In discussing the other idea which goes to make up the essence of Christianity some caution must be exercised. The idea must be limited and must be subordinated to the general idea of God and related to the companion idea of the kingdom. Fatherhood must not stand for a sentiment but rather for an idea. Popular thought in striving to identify the principles of Christianity has made this idea vapid and invertebrate. Certainly the fatherhood of God is a teaching of Christianity; to understand it, however, we must subsume it to the idea of God as spirit, just as we must parallel it to the notion of the kingdom. Hereby the idea of fatherhood becomes spiritualized and rendered universal; on the other hand,

the idea of fatherhood contributes the principles of personality, and hereby God and his kingdom, as ideas, are made more tenable philosophically and more valuable for the religious consciousness. Because it is the Father's, the kingdom is come nigh us; we worship the Spirit because it is not abstract, but personal and fatherly. Outlining his doctrine, Christ ever kept in the shadow of this great idea; but he did not denominate it a religion; he simply called it life. This he idealized by making it divine. Because it is thus life, Christianity is not a theory; in history the spirit, alive in God and awakening in humanity, makes its presence felt, and hereby is Christianity realized.

With its principle of spiritual life Christianity is clearly historical; by virtue of such a method it solves its own problem, but at the same time it gives rise to a searching question: How may religion, spiritual, universal, and eternal as it must be, become a part of history, which deals with the contingent, the temporal, the definite? When we aim to regard historical Christianity *sub specie religionis* we feel that, to be a religion, it must likewise be surveyed *sub specie æternitatis.* Herein arises a problem; herein is concealed a conflict. Present-day thought seems more favorably disposed toward the historical view than was the enlightenment which looked upon true Christianity as being as old as the creation. But current evolutionary science, as well as historical philosophy, is not within its antipathies. Where, for its part, the enlightenment was inimical to historical progress, because it seemed to suggest incompleteness, our thought, infused with the general idea of development, can find no room for the definite and positive. What, then, becomes of a Christianity which is, above all things, a thoroughly historical form of religion? In answering this penetrating question we cannot remain content with an ancient formalism, which viewed all things as at rest, or with modern dynamism, which sets all things in motion. Such views discount all spiritual values and do violence to even history itself. Thus the problem becomes twofold: we must validate and evaluate history;

with its principles, religion must be described. When we seek to conserve the abiding character of Christianity we do not make void the works of history; nay, we establish history! Christianity has created history. To work out its leading ideas—the divine Father, the heavenly kingdom—and to make these vital and vivid, Christianity originated the historical method. Of this latter, pagan speculation and oriental worship were wholly unaware. But Christianity, by a direct appeal to universal history, relates the heavenly Father to those subjects which make up his kingdom. In its endeavor to do justice to the nature and character of the eternal God, Christianity had recourse to that which, in pagan and oriental thought, had been neglected and despised. Spiritual life, which cannot reside in the world, abides in history. Hereby historical Christianity has been justified and religion realized. Double is the victory which has been won. Religion in general, with its ideas of the spiritual and the absolute, becomes united with a Christianity which has grown out of temporal conditions. The Eternal appears arrayed in the garments of the passing years. In the transcendent principle of spirit, both abstract speculation and contingent experience are excelled, and thereby has Christianity been made what it is: the religion of universal spiritual life. Achieving an historical method, Christianity has not failed to deal magisterially with actual historical conditions. It has set up a dualism in the course of universal history, and has exalted a single period above all historical progress. To exist as the religion of spirit it became necessary for original Christianity to differentiate itself from the past. Such a breach was as rough as it was inevitable. Past and present were at variance; then and now were forever divided, for a catastrophe had taken place. All who had come before were thieves and robbers. But such a chasm was only the work of a new beginning; the negation of the past was only for the affirmation of the present; Christ is best represented as the second Adam, who, awakening in the kingdom of heaven, becomes as God, knowing good and evil. But Christian life

and Christian thought confess this; everywhere the impression of newness and originality was made, and it was this which caused the tragedy of Christianity.

Christianity does not pause with the dualism of historical occurrence, but culminates in a single period. In this sense it may be said that this religion breaks away from what followed it in the same way as it broke with the past. Thus Christianity represents not merely a cataclysm, but a culmination. Such a view is necessary to spiritual religion, and at the same time is worthy of history. We see that we are not dealing with a purely prosaic becoming, but with a movement which is characteristic and rich in events. Christianity is thus classic in the history of religion; subsequent ages must take their point of departure from this one sublime event. If chronology and evolution are not satisfied thereby, the religious consciousness, which is free in its movements and is more anxious to find spiritual value than it is to work out any abstract scheme of natural development, remains content. And religion pursues such a peculiar method of concentration because thereby it encounters a personality which gives evidence of spiritual reality and communicates religious influence. Concentration is thus for the sake, not of a period, but a person.

III.

The spiritual becomes personal. In the general analysis of Christianity, as well as in the latter's peculiar relation to history, such a direct view could not be established. Christianity refers to its Christ, and so intimate is the principle of spirit in the religious consciousness that the appeal to the person of Jesus causes only gratification. It is thus that this form of religion becomes twofold: Christian thought centers in the idea of God's kingdom and fatherhood; Christian life clings to Christ, his person and work. Thus he who will philosophize about Christianity must prepare himself for its twofold tendency. There is a belief *of* Christ, which he exercised and bade his disciples share with him, and there is a

belief *on* Christ, which arose from the infinite attractiveness of his personality. The one is the Christianity of the evangelists; the other belongs to the epistles. Christ anticipated, and even created, this double moment, when he counseled, "Ye believe in God, believe also in me." As a result of his teaching and his career there arose a written life of Jesus, and a life which was hid in Christ. By his teaching, religion in general was affected; through his person there was made possible a doctrine of theology. Christian thought is directed toward God, his fatherhood and kingdom. Christian life is inclined toward the person and work of Christ. The thought of Christendom has never overcome this breach. Herein has arisen, in modern times, many a controversy. Within the Church, the apostolic belief on Christ has predominated; within the Church, much has been said about the principles of Christ's own belief and teachings. Secular thought has exhorted, "Back to the Gospel." Sacerdotal faith has viewed these writings from the indirect standpoint of apostolic teaching. This distinction has become a dispute. Lessing turned away from the "Christian religion" to the "religion of Christ." Deism set up the latter, to which its orthodox opponents, as Butler, opposed the former. But the works which such a conflict made then, and makes now, are only skin-deep. When the principles of Christian thought, as this was aroused by Jesus, are composed with the features of the life with him, there results a harmony and an unlooked-for completeness. Christ's heart was in his teaching so that he and his doctrine are one. Analyze his ideas; compare with them the impressions which he made, and therein may be found the essence of Christianity. The dualism of gospel and epistle, the apposition of evangelist to apostle is a view which the philosophy of Christianity cannot abide. A complete view of this peculiar form of religion must adjust these; the natural unfolding of Christianity shows how this may be done. Christ as a teacher, originated spiritual principles; believing in this double form of divine truth, Christ worked and suffered. Christ's own belief made him what he was,

caused him to carry out his plan in history. His belief in his Father made his personality characteristic; his belief in his Father's will led him to establish the kingdom. He and the Father, whom he believed and revealed, were one. Now, when apostolic Christianity developed its belief in Christ it was a faith in a person who had, in history, led a spiritual life guided by the idea of the Father's kingdom. Such belief, while it was not the same as Christ's own faith as proclaimed by him, was not empty, but characteristic of Christianity as it then was—the Father's kingdom. Thus there is an inherent connection between the belief communicated by Christ and the faith inspired by him. Apostolic Christianity must proceed from the evangel.

Epistolary Christianity believes in Christ's person and work, but does not see that these represent ideas and impulses which are to be found and understood in the evangelists' account of Christ's life and work. Christ, let it never be forgotten, believed in God's fatherhood and kingdom; Christ's apostles believed in his person and work. Now here is a natural connection. The person of Christ, not merely as a belief in the minds of his followers, but as a fact in the life of Christ himself, resulted from Christ's belief in God as his Father. When the apostles, advancing beyond the belief in Jesus as the Messiah, reverently regarded him as the Son of God, they expressed an idea which was, and is, meaningless, unless it be united with that of the fatherhood of God. Obedient unto God, he would not drink of the blood of the grape till he drank it anew, with his disciples, in the kingdom of his Father. Trusting in God's kingdom, Christ became obedient unto the death of a cross. Why was the crucifixion inflicted? "My kingdom is not of this world." The accusation, written in a threefold tongue, was, "The King of the Jews." When apostolic Christianity theorizes about the value of Christ's death it refers to a tragic event which resulted from the promulgation of the kingdom-doctrine. Like the personal life of Christ the death was characteristic, being in harmony with his teaching.

To believe in Christ, his person and his work, is to believe in God, his kingdom and his fatherhood.

Christianity represents a unity; it sets up an ideal and a goal; this is what it should do. Thus far in its history Christianity has ministered unto life, individual and social; it has given man a form of worship and has bestowed upon society a Church. This is, indeed, a part of its mission, but is it all? Why should not the Christian religion give birth to a living philosophy? It has been a method of thinking and has thus contributed the most salient elements of many an occidental system of thought. At the same time Christianity has expressed, though indirectly, certain definite speculative principles, spirit being perhaps the most inclusive of them. But spirit in general may be somewhat further defined as signifying in its nature, inwardness; in its character, value. Christianity has distinguished from the natural, the supernatural; from the bad, the good. The soul has been emancipated and related to a new realm and having a new and true form of life. Though indistinctly, the kingdom of spirit has been made as systematic as the ancient cosmos or modern nature. Such achievements as these deserve logical treatment. The concepts of Christianity may be concrete and organic, but they do not suffer thereby; they demand serious consideration, and the future of Christianity as a life seems to depend upon the possibilities of Christianity as a method of thought and a form of culture.

Charles Gray Shaw.

Art. VII.—JOHN WESLEY'S INVALID YEAR.

In August, 1753, when John Wesley was a little over fifty years of age, he was smitten down by several recurring attacks of illness, which finally became so severe and dangerous as to threaten his life. At first he attempted to ignore his physical condition and carry on his usual labors in spite of his sickness, but he found himself at last forced to take the advice of his skillful London physician and seek rest, fresh air, and careful nourishment out in the country. All his symptoms indicated "a galloping consumption," and Charles Wesley, Whitefield, and all who were near to the sick man were oppressed with overweening anxiety, and with a dread that he was doomed to die. Indeed, this sort of a premonition took hold of Mr. Wesley himself, for on the 26th of November, upon arrival at the house of a friend in the country with whom he was to stay for some weeks, he wrote the following epitaph, in order, as he says in his *Journal*, "to prevent vile panegyric:"

Here lieth the Body
of
JOHN WESLEY,
A brand plucked out of the burning;
Who died of a Consumption in the Fifty-first Year
of his Age,
not leaving, after his Debts are paid,
Ten Pounds behind him;
Praying,
God be merciful to me, an unprofitable Servant!
He ordered that this, if any, inscription should be placed upon his tombstone.

The Methodist Societies in London, and indeed throughout England, appointed daily hours of prayer for the sick man, but even the most sturdy believers were smitten with alarm in view of his weakened and prostrate condition. As for Mr. Wesley himself, there are no signs that he expected to recover strength again. Just after the opening of the new year, 1754, he wrote: "My day is far spent, and (even in a

natural way) the shadows of the evening come on apace." With this feeling he opened what we may call his invalid year. Let us see what use he made of it.

His first undertaking was characteristic. He had been for years thinking of writing a brief, plain series of comments on the New Testament, but he had been hindered by the pressure of other labors, and by a sense of his unfitness for such a task—a morbid and mistaken opinion, we may now declare. When he found himself with broken health, shivering with chills, scorched with fever, racked with a dreadful cough, and prostrated with weakness, he immediately planned to utilize his physical inactivity by making it the occasion for writing his long deferred *Notes on the New Testament!* His plan involved the utilization of the latest emendations of the Greek text, a correction of the accepted English translation, and the preparation of a brief exposition such as would help "plain, unlettered men" to understand the Gospel. In doing this work he translated from the Latin many of the terse and pithy notes found in the *Gnomon Novi Testamenti* of Dr. John Albert Bengel, that great critic and scholar who had but recently gone to his reward, and he also availed himself of the vast mass of textual criticism which Bengel had accumulated in his critical apparatus for the study of the Greek Testament. Help was also found in Doddridge's *Family Expositor,* and assistance was rendered for a few weeks by Charles Wesley.

In executing this task he wrought with a system, a diligence, and a courage which show of what material he was made. He rose at his usual early hour, and after a considerable time spent in devotion he began writing at five in the morning; he gave himself an hour for each meal, and rode on horseback from noon until one o'clock, and chatted and rested from six to seven in the evening. With these exceptions every moment of the day until nine o'clock at night was taken up with his great task. Here were twelve hours and a half of close, uninterrupted, and prayerful toil, of a critical and exacting sort which must, he knew, stand the test of the

keenest scrutiny in scholastic as well as popular circles when it should be complete. He began the work on Sunday, January 6, 1754, and ten weeks later, he had finished the "rough draft" of the *Notes on the Gospels;* on that date he began transcribing the copy and getting it ready for the press.

When he undertook the task he said, "This is a work which I should scarce ever have attempted had I not been so ill as not to be able to travel or preach, and yet so well as to be able to read and write." But, in spite of his frail and broken health, he was not idle in other respects. On his second Sunday an exhortation at Bristol, a short distance from the Hot-Wells where he was staying; family prayers each evening at nine, attended by a little congregation, to whom he gave "a short exhortation, so preparing for a larger congregation;" visits to the bedside of the sick and dying in the neighborhood; and at last a sermon, the first he was able to preach for four months, on March 26, and then later in the spring a moderate assumption of travel and preaching again —this was the story of the early portion of his invalid year. During the summer his *Journal* entries allude to his lack of voice and of strength and to successive attacks of illness which interfered with his accustomed activity, but he kept up his reading habits and his hold upon the work until, in August, his physician ordered him back to the Hot-Wells again without delay. After tarrying here a fortnight, and continuing his studies on the New Testament, he set out again on his journeys, in one trip preaching eight times in as many days. Later in the fall he returned to London, greatly enfeebled, and here he was forced to stay for the rest of the year, as his voice had failed again and again when he attempted to preach, and his strength was at times utterly exhausted. Still he kept at his *Notes on the New Testament,* which were in the hands of the printer, in part at least, before the end of 1754 and which were published in the following year. It would seem that they are almost wholly the fruit of his toil during this year 1754. Nor is this the only product of his industry during that year. He carried through the press

a volume containing that part of his *Journal* which stretches from November, 1746, to July, 1749; a pamphlet poem in answer to the doctrine of the Final Perseverance of the Saints as proclaimed by Rev. Dr. Gill; and eight volumes of his *Christian Library,* containing carefully chosen extracts from nearly a score of the great Puritan and Anglican theologians such as Leighton, Barrow, Charnock, and Baxter. The editorial toil involved in these tasks, and especially what Mr. Wesley calls in later years, in alluding to the *Notes on the New Testament,* "the immense labor of writing twice over a quarto book containing seven or eight hundred pages," performed and endured amid painful and exhausting attacks of disease by a man who conceived himself doomed to speedy death—who can adequately estimate or fairly appreciate all this?

The *Notes on the New Testament,* Wesley's *magnum opus* for the year in question, is not by any means a work to be considered behind the times even in this day of critical learning and of new textual and biblical discoveries. In some respects Mr. Wesley anticipated, a hundred and twenty-five years in advance, the work of the revisers as embodied in their edition of the New Testament in 1881. For example, he arranged the Scripture in paragraphs, "according to the matter it contains, making a larger or smaller pause, just as the sense requires. And even this"—he goes on to say—"is such a help in many places as one who has not tried it can scarcely conceive." It has taken the Bible-reading public about a century and a half to catch up to John Wesley in this regard, and discern what many readers of the Revised Version have now learned, and what has been freshly emphasized and illustrated in the *Modern Reader's Bible,* that the typographical arrangement of the scriptural story is often an exposition in itself. Then his introductions to each book are fine specimens of analytic power, and in many cases they may be used to-day, just as they stand, with a little change in the assigned dates made necessary by new light which has flashed on the story since his day. Further, the correc-

tions made in the English translation in many cases coincide with the emendations made by our own modern revisers. The word *let,* for instance, is replaced by *hindered* in Rom. i, 13; in the parable of the unjust judge, Luke xviii, 1-8, Wesley's rendering of the words, "Yet, because this widow giveth me trouble, I will do her justice, lest by her continual coming she weary me out," seems to us an improvement of the revisers' reading, "Yet, because this widow troubleth me, I will avenge her, lest by her continual coming she wear me out." He also anticipates the American revisers' rendition, "Our Father, *who* art in heaven," instead of the long-perpetuated but intolerable *which.* Space will not allow further citations, except, perhaps, the following comparison of Mr. Wesley's rendering of the prologue to St. Luke's Gospel with that of the Revised Version:

Revised Version.	John Wesley.
Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus; that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed.	Forasmuch as many have undertaken to compose a narrative of the facts which have been fully confirmed among us, even as they who were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word from the beginning, delivered them to us: It seemed good to me also, having accurately traced all things from their first rise, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mayest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed.

The facts pertaining to this invalid year of Mr. Wesley, as I have indicated them, impress their own moral, and forcibly suggest the energy, the working capacity, the powers of endurance, the faith, the devotion, and the scholarship of the founder of Methodism.

Jesse Bowman Young

Art. VIII.—THE NEED OF A MISSIONARY TRAINING INSTITUTE.

In the financial administration of missions two great problems are ever before us—how raise the money, and how spend it. It is in fact idle to theorize upon which of these questions is the more difficult to answer. But the second can scarcely receive too much attention; and its solution will go far to lift the burden of the first. Convince the practical men of the Church that mission money is wisely administered, and they will give in abundant measure.

The largest item of expense in all missions is the support of the missionaries themselves. We hear a good deal about expensive buildings, but one missionary in China with a large family costs annually in salary and incidentals nearly or quite as much as the residence in which he lives. Building material and native labor are cheap in heathen lands, but foreigners are expensive. So with the so-called "current expenses," as native evangelists, schools, chapels. In proportion to the cost of the foreign missionaries, all these items combined cut a comparatively small figure in the distribution of an annual appropriation of the missionary society to a mission in Asia. Clearly, then, economy in the administration of mission funds must begin with this, the largest item. It follows that the most important of all questions for every missionary society is, "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" There are hundreds who answer, "Here am I, send me," who if sent, would prove deficient in gifts, grace, or usefulness. If they have grace they lack in gifts; and sometimes they possess gifts without grace. In either case they will be sadly wanting in usefulness. Every successful business man understands this. He knows that a suitable manager for his factory is cheap at whatever it is necessary to pay to secure and retain him. He knows equally well that an incompetent agent is expensive at any price. It has been said that a business man in America, if he wished

to open a branch establishment in Asia, would carefully select from his tried employees the best man available to intrust with this important task. Too much money is involved to send out any stranger, no matter how well he is recommended. Such a business man says, "I consider two things essential: first, that I know my man; second, that he knows something of the work he is to do."

Is it possible for the missionary societies to exercise to a greater extent the practical methods of business men, in this matter of such supreme moment to them? Certainly, how select and how train our missionaries are two questions than which no greater can confront the missionary managers for solution. The fact that they are difficult to answer is nothing against them. That is true of all problems worth solving. Nor is the raising of these questions at this time a reflection upon the past management of the societies. New conditions develop new weaknesses. In the early days few men would offer to go to India or China who were not of the heroic mold. Carey, Duff, Judson, Thoburn, and a host of others needed no artificial sifting. They were prepared and called of God. The difficulties were enough to appall weak and incompetent men. The training, too, in the early days could be done upon the field, because the work was in its infancy. There was no large native Church to administer. No important institutions were built up, to be taken in hand by new arrivals. Experience came with the growth of the work. But all that is now changed. To-day there is no such furnace to refine the candidates. It is easy to come and go. All sorts of people are willing, and think they are called. New arrivals are forced into positions of responsibility at the earliest possible moment because of the breakdown or furlough of older men. The line of battle is extending faster than it can be held by seasoned veterans alone. Raw troops must be hurried to the front.

It has been proposed by thoughtful students of this problem that an elaborate system of training upon the various fields should be adopted; that institutions for the purpose,

under the best veteran missionaries, be established at convenient centers, where all newly arrived missionaries would spend two or three years in study of the language and customs of the people, before being put in charge of work. As no one society could afford to maintain such an enterprise in each of its fields, it is proposed to have these institutions interdenominational, and all Protestant societies working in each particular field unite in its support and use. There is very much to be said in favor of such a plan. Undoubtedly it would greatly increase the efficiency of the missionaries if faithfully carried out. But is it practicable? For example, would the various missionary societies working in South or Central China unite in such an undertaking? How many years would likely elapse before an agreement as to details could be reached? The two branches of Episcopal Methodism have been discussing for ten years the very desirable, and it would seem easy, task of establishing a Union Methodist Publishing House in Shanghai. Apparently they are as far off from the consummation as ever. Is it likely that a generation will suffice to bring into harmony in such an institution as a training school the conflicting ideas and interests of American and English Methodist and Protestant Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists? Unless a plan is practicable the discussion of its utility is needless. Moreover, such a plan does nothing to correct the initial blunder of sending out the wrong persons.

What, then, can be done? or, to bring the question home, what can the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church do, to increase the efficiency and reduce the expense of its agents? I answer, *Let it establish its own training school for all its foreign missionaries.* Of course, such a school of necessity would be in America, and it should be in the vicinity of New York. Every man and woman should spend at least a year in the school before being appointed abroad. It need not be a great expense to the society. Students should pay their own cost of living, or, in cases of necessity, might be aided by a loan, to be taken off their

salary gradually after their appointment. There would be no hardship in this. Young missionaries are well provided for in the scale of salaries. It is later, when they have children in school in America, that their allowance is stretched to its utmost capacity to cover their expenses.

I. *Instructors.* The principal should be one of the best and wisest of missionaries. An experience on the field is absolutely essential. There are many returned missionaries, and men on furlough, who could deliver courses of lectures upon their fields that would be up-to-date and profitable. Other than Methodist missionaries are available for this work. The missionary secretary and assistant secretaries would do well to spend a good deal of time in getting acquainted with each candidate personally. They could do this better in the class room than in any other way. Could their time be better employed? Men skilled in soul-winning, engaged in practical mission work in the great metropolis, could render invaluable aid in sharpening the sickles of these world-harvesters.

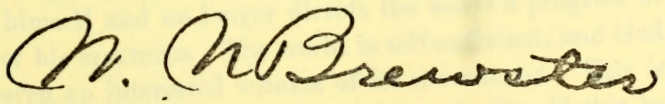
II. *Instruction.* It is true that not much could be done in language preparation. Nothing, until the prospective field is decided; and then only in the way of grammar and reading. But Hindustani and Chinese Mandarin might be taught with profit. A beginning could be made that would at least make life more tolerable for the new missionary the first year after his arrival. And time would be saved, at less cost to the society. But there are other things the new missionary needs to learn besides the language. He should know about the religious ideas of the people among whom he is to go. There are numerous and authoritative text-books upon this subject for all fields that it would be very profitable for every missionary to study under a wise and experienced teacher before he comes on the field. He will have little time for it when he gets to work. The customs of the people can also be studied. It is true that there is no substitute for the eye, in this difficult and strange line of investigation. The East is a new world, and must be seen to be

appreciated. But a preparation for the new scenes will cause them to be less of a shock to the novitiate. The amusing and humiliating blunders in discourtesy could be avoided by careful instruction upon these matters before arrival among these people. Again, nearly every missionary has to keep accounts more or less elaborate. He handles money for the society. Few have had any instruction, and less have had experience, in this before they are compelled to begin it in the work. Thus a course in practical bookkeeping should be a part of the equipment of every missionary.

But of all the men in connection with such an institution the physician is second to none in importance. Premature breakdowns are the most fruitful source of leakage to missionary treasuries. While no degree of human prescience could anticipate all of them, yet it is certain that their number might be greatly reduced. Without offering any criticism upon existing practice, can anyone acquainted with the facts doubt that a better way is possible if the society establish a training school upon the lines above sketched? The attending physician should not be a famous metropolitan practitioner, with more work upon his hands all the time than he can do justice to. Such benevolent men will give their services for the good of the cause, but their minds are elsewhere, and they cannot be held responsible for mistakes. Life insurance companies are not so conducted. Our physician should be paid for his work. He should be in almost daily attendance upon the school. He should make the physical condition and peculiarities of each student a constant study. He should be a student of the several fields, understanding the climatic conditions thoroughly, and their effect upon various constitutions. If possible, he should have had an experience as a medical missionary. In that case he might be one of the staff of regular teachers of the school, giving instruction upon some of the above-mentioned lines. It would be time well spent for him to give the students a thorough course of lectures annually upon how to take care of their health in mission fields. If he had time outside of

his duties in the institution for a limited practice of his profession, very well; but the Missionary Society should have the first claim upon his time and energies, and his heart should be in this work. Then responsibility for sending out semi-invalids could be located. They would not be sent.

It goes without saying that in the case of married men their wives should take the course with them. Their health is fully as important, as a matter of economy, as that of their husbands. More missionaries return home after a brief and unsatisfactory career in the mission field on account of the ill health of their wives than of their own. But it amounts to exactly the same thing, when the bills are paid. Husband and wife go and come together. This is no new thing under the sun. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of our Church has such a school at Herkimer, N. Y.—the Folts Mission Institute. And for practical purposes the Deaconess Home and Training School conducted by Mrs. Lucy Rider Meyer at Chicago has long served the same purpose for that admirably managed society. In England several societies have their own schools for training and testing their candidates. The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church cannot afford to lag in the rear in this important reform. How could a portion of the Twentieth Century Thank Offering be better used? If a wise and liberal steward of the Lord would give a suitable building for this purpose it is possible that the Missionary Board would at once establish the institute. Rightly conducted, such a training school would save to the society annually much more than its current expenses, as well as greatly increase the efficiency and improve the average quality of the men and women it sends to do this most difficult work.



Art. IX.—GOD IN HIS OWN WORLD.

When a man makes a machine he and it are independent of each other. The maker is a man without the machine, and the machine is as complete and does its work as well in the hands of another as in those of the man who made it. Neither is essential to the other. Such is the relation which many imagine exists between God and the world which he has created. But there is a close and vital relation between God and his creation. Since he has made his world our home it is of great importance to us that we should know how he regards this home of ours, and also how he regards us, who, as a part of his creation, are so closely related to the world. Living as we do, here in this great world, we should like to feel that we are not alone. We should like to know that we are not orphans or castaways, but that God is here with us and that we are even closer to him than we are to the world in which we live. We should like to feel also that God regards us with even greater interest than he does the world which he has made.

The thought that God is absent from the world is revolting to the human heart. And yet such a thought is quite prevalent. It may be held as an article of belief, or it may be implied in the practical denial of many of the most vital truths of Christianity, but in either case it amounts to this: that God has abandoned all care for the world. The idea is that just as the machine does not depend upon the man who made it, so the world no longer depends upon God. He created it, and gave to it forces which act according to fixed laws, and then set it going—and now it runs without him. He has absented himself and no longer directs the world's progress or cares for his creatures. The world is self-sufficient, and God is not even an interested witness of its movements. This is certainly cold comfort for the human heart; for, if this be true, then we cannot speak to him in prayer. He has made the world sufficient for all our wants, and leaves men to seek

in it their satisfaction. We have no revelation of God or inspiration from him, for nature gives to us all that we need to know of the divine will. We are to study his laws and his wisdom in his world and there learn our duty and our destiny. There is no personal providence, for we are left to the cold mercies of heartless nature, which, though impartial, takes no thought for the peculiar wants of the individual. There can be no salvation except that which we achieve in cooperation with nature, no knowledge of God except what nature gives us, and no hope of life after death except the inextinguishable longings of the soul for immortality. Against such barren comfort the heart of every man protests when it is allowed to speak. It is also untrue in both a biblical and philosophical sense. God is in his world. He is not far from every one of us. For in him we live and move and have our being. He upholdeth all things by the word of his power, and in him all things hold together. Such is the teaching of the word of God upon his relation to his world, and the idea is profoundly philosophical.

But we hear much of the "laws of nature" and the "forces of nature." It would seem from what is said of them and of what they do that they must be about equal to God and make a very good substitute for him. There is a popular misconception of what these laws and forces are, and a right understanding of them will give us a better knowledge of God's relation both to his world and to us. Laws never do anything. They are not self-acting. They are only modes of action. They tell us the way in which forces act and the regularity of their procedure. Civil laws do nothing. It is the civil officer who acts. He causes the law to be kept. In the performance of his duty as an officer of the State he acts according to law and requires others to do likewise. The same is true of the laws of nature. They do nothing of themselves. They are merely expressions of the established regularity of working forces. But what are natural forces? Are they self-existing and self-acting? By a little thinking we shall see that natural forces are merely a name for something

else. There can be no such thing as force without personality. There is nothing that is self-acting but spirit, either finite or infinite. Wherever there is force there is spirit or personality either divine or human. The natural forces, so called, such as gravitation, electricity, light, heat, and chemical affinity, are not things in themselves. They are the activities of an infinite person. The force that guides the planets in their courses, the force that holds us to the earth and holds the earth together, the force that keeps even the minutest particle of matter together and gives it a continual existence, the force that drives the locomotive, the force that carries the message so mysteriously over the wire and under the seas, the force that flashes so instantaneously from other planets to ours across millions upon millions of miles, the force that breaks the shell and sprouts the seed and forms the plant and the tree, the force that bears up the clouds, every force of the world and the universe, except that of man and other finite beings that may be, is the activity of the infinite God. He is in his world and the world is so perfectly his that he ever constitutes it what it is by his continual activity. If he ceased to act, even for an instant, all things but himself would cease to be. Creation is continuous. In him all things consist or hold together. He upholdeth all things by the word of his power. He gives stability and regularity to the world by doing all things by laws which he imposes upon himself. What the theologian calls the divine immutability is identical with what the scientist calls the continuity of natural law.

But is there no variation in God's way of doing things? Is his way of governing his world so fixed and inflexible that he never departs from an established order? The answer to this all depends upon what is meant by an established order. It is not unreasonable to think that God governs the world in the interest of moral beings, that is to say, in the interest of men, and that his purpose is a moral purpose. His sovereignty in nature is not in the interest of nature. His activities there, whatever form they may take, are for

the training of moral beings. The universe is an infinite confusion of facts, and it is man's work to discover the principles that make some facts alike and others unlike. Thus he traces out the laws or the regularity of God's way of doing things. If this were a topsy-turvy world we could never be sure of anything, and our lives and even our mental and moral powers would be overthrown. For practical purposes of life we need just what we have, that is, a fixed order in nature. If a certain vegetable were food to-day and poison to-morrow, if one day were twenty-four hours long and another ten and another thirty, if to-day a given body weighed twice what it did yesterday, if at one time fire were cold and at another hot, if we never knew whether a body would fall to the ground or ascend into the air, if to-day the temperature were one hundred degrees and to-morrow forty degrees below zero, how could we live and be sane beings? God therefore acts uniformly in the world for our good. His ways of doing things are laws of life for us. As we are moral beings his purpose even in nature is a moral purpose. But we are so closely bound to the world by physical necessities that there is need of variation in his regular order to impress us with the fact of his presence and of his direct interest in us. He therefore does things at times out of the usual way. We call them miracles, but to God there is no such thing as miracle. All the time he is acting on the high moral plane of training a world of beings to know him and adore him for the good that such training will be to them. When he wishes to declare the authority of a messenger as a prophet or an apostle he does through them or in the presence of witnesses does something himself out of the ordinary course which we see in the world. We call it a miracle. A miracle is therefore only a name which we give to an act of God which he does out of his usual way, but which is in perfect keeping with his changeless moral purpose. For example, if we should suddenly see all the water in Lake Erie rise in one vast volume out of its basin to the clouds, we should call it the greatest miracle the world has ever witnessed. But more

than that much water is raised by the hand of God to the clouds every day by his usual method of evaporation and yet we do not call it a miracle, because that is the way he does it continually. It may seem a violation of natural law, but it is not a violation of his moral purpose. The ordinary course of nature as well as the extraordinary method of miracle are both and equally the working out of the divine purpose. That which is changeless is the purpose, but the method of accomplishing it varies just so far as the end in view requires. If he invariably worked by what would appear to us as rigid, inflexible law it would be fatal to his purpose. If he multiplied miracles so that they would be common, daily occurrences it would be even more fatal, for then nothing would be miraculous. We should have a harum-scarum world which would utterly wreck our confidence in God and in all natural order as well as his moral purpose.

But God is above the world as well as in it, and, having made man capable of something better than a merely animal, earthly life, he opens windows through the hard wall of nature for the in-shinings of the spiritual world. I have mentioned miracles as one form of special divine manifestation for the training of moral beings for the spiritual world. We have found that miracles, instead of being infractions of natural law, are the in-shinings of the spiritual world; and that in all that God does, whether in what we call the natural or in what we call the spiritual world, he works, not according to fixed law, but according to fixed purpose, the purpose being a moral one in the interest of moral being. The purpose changes not, but the way in which he works may and does vary.

The end which God has in view for his moral creatures seems to require change, not in his final purpose, but in his way of working it out. In the history of the world there have been ages of deep darkness and other ages of greater light. There have been nations that varied in degrees of enlightenment. There have been races in which the intellectual life predominated and others in which the religious life was

most characteristic. Gross forms of religion and degrading types of superstition have caused varied degrees of immorality. Families and individuals have also been capable of different degrees of spiritual light. Now, the progress of the world and of every individual in the world seems to require that there should be a "true Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world," and that there should be those who should "bear witness of the Light that all men might believe." Therefore "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son." A revelation in various ways was therefore in perfect keeping with God's purpose. That is a cramped soul and a narrow view which holds that a revelation is impossible, inconsistent, and unnecessary. We must believe in the stability of the world and live with confidence in nature's laws. But these laws are only methods of something that is higher than they, namely, the supreme purpose of God. Laws imply a lawmaker and a lawgiver, which is equivalent to the saying that there is a divine mind that works with ends in view. But it is unnecessary and unreasonable to think that the divine exhausts himself in giving and carrying out natural laws. His purpose is what he is executing in his world, and in perfect keeping with it he may and does give us in-shinings in various forms of providence, revelation, miracle, inspiration, prophecy, grace, and ministrations of his Spirit. God has a goal for the world, and we must think a goal for every man. He is not, therefore, a disinterested witness of the world's awful strife and of man's struggle for existence. He is here with a plan for the life of every man and with a helping hand for the realization of that divine plan.

This is a sacred world, an infinite Bethel. One place is as sacred as another if in that place we only remember that God is there. The common habit of thinking is that this is a gross, material world which, if not contaminating, is at least void of all sanctity, and that God is manifest only in sacred places, upon holy occasions, and to consecrated per-

sons. This habit of thought takes from the world its meaning and its mission to us, and robs us of its glories and its gracious influence. But God is in the world whether we know it or not. By his power we live. It is his power that drives all machinery, that propels all means of travel and communication, that makes the air a conductor of sound and song, that makes the infinite ocean of ether a medium of light from celestial bodies, that gives form and color in their infinite variety of combination in the world of beauty. More marvelous still, it is he who establishes all the laws of human thought and directs the world's order so that in it the human mind finds its own laws of thought everywhere written by the infinite mind. When the mind grasps the truth that is written in the book of nature it finds no contradictions. There, as according to the mind's mode of thought, a straight line is the shortest distance between two points, the whole of a thing is greater than a part of it, two and two are always four, things equal to the same thing are equal to each other. Still more wonderful is the presence of moral forces in the world that ever work for righteousness. As God is the infinite cause of the world, so he is the source of all truth and goodness in the world, and he both aids and responds to the call of every soul for him. In any and every sense God is to us unavoidable. As constituting the material world; as forming the lines and laws of human thought; as the power in the world that works for righteousness; as the grace that responds to the heart's call for light and help; as the Soul of nature, God is in this, his own world. It is his house, our home and Bethel. This makes the world and our life in it sacred. Every place and every moment is hallowed by the presence of the divine. God is in this world though we know it not.

Byron Palmer

Art. X.—THE RELIGION OF A SCHOLAR-POET: A STUDY OF LOWELL'S "THE CATHEDRAL."

As the solution of a mathematical problem is involved and latent in the terms of the problem itself, so religion—whatever its formal definition—is, in ultimate analysis, a solution of life problems, and, therefore, involved and essentially latent in the static elements of all ethical questions; it is not remote and suprahuman, but integral in humanity and part of the universal psychic equipment. Each man apprehends, more or less vaguely, this fundamental fact in the history both of the race and of the individual unit of it, though certain phases of religion, so called, are repudiated as eccentric, or pedantically supercilious. There may be, indeed, abnormal developments of this quality of the spirit, as there are abnormal developments of other qualities, but there exists in the religious realm a specific norm, and a true, complete self-knowledge, a true realization of the ends of life itself, demands the apprehension of it. Men are classed according to their attitude toward this norm of religion, and life is only worth while when its solution is found in a normal self-development—becoming supremely simple in its aims and activities the more elaborate becomes its effort to eliminate nonreligion from the cooperating conditions of individual being. Our noblest literature—that which, both in its spirit and form, is classic among all peoples—and most important for the culture of the spirit, is born of this attitude; and the greatest work of literary art yet to be produced will portray with consummate skill the *modus* by which a human life finds the solutions of all problems of conduct and character in the terms of a religion latent in the actual conditions of the soul and of ideal society. If that greatest work of literary art be a novel—a religious novel—it will not be great, in the noblest definitions of greatness as measured by the masters of world-letters, but it will be more popular than the most popular novels have ever been, because it will

deal directly with the most tragic issues that inhere in our relations with the immanent God—that God with whom we have to deal—because in him we live and move and *are;* and because it will confront the soul with the eternal fact of our immanence in God, as the condition of essential, dominating, Greeklike delight in existence—joy in the environing beauty of a cosmos which, because it inheres in order, is the index to an omnipresent Spirit of beautiful, gracious holiness of goodness.

It is said that, thus far, Balzac is the greatest of all novelists; if this be so, it is because he has portrayed the inermost life activities of soul and society in pursuit and possession of *money*—that medium of wealth distribution which being everywhere is nowhere, is the unique *sine qua non* of economic progress and social status—produced by the state and yet essential to the state's existence. When the novelist shall portray the innermost life activities of soul in pursuit of God, that is to say, of holiness as an ethico-spiritual achievement, Balzac's methods will be reproduced, but his novels will rank second—and the writer of the true religious novel (which will send its roots into the Hebrew-Christian philosophy of life) will be the greatest of all prophet-poets. Our Hawthorne, in *The Marble Faun*—an essay on the thesis that moral evil annihilates itself and ultimates in good by its own inevitable reactions—approximates the loftiest greatness; and Hall Caine and Thomas Hardy, with greater literary power, rank with him in ethical aim.

In the domain of poetry the scholar-poet, James Russell Lowell, with perfect grace has shown how the solutions of life's problems inhere in the elements of life itself, and that religion is elemental in the ethical life of man—inherent in qualities that spread like an atmosphere throughout the world of the human spirit. Of course, he has not written a work which for dramatic effect may be compared with the novels of Balzac, Hawthorne, Caine, and Hardy, but his poem is not at all below their novels in the perennial freshness of its vision or the permanent fascination of its style.

I refer to "The Cathedral," a poem in which, more than in any other, he sets himself the function of defining his religion. Since its publication in 1870 it has lost something of its individuality, being bound up with his collected works, but it stands apart, to all who have known it since it came out in the little 12mo, as one of the poet's finest works—and one of the fittest exponents of the century in which he lived. It is, in the first place, an autobiography of one of New England's noblest types of manhood—a *Journal Intime*—not of that exterior life which has record in dates of birth and death, but of the interior, God-filled life which knows no time, but only truth, or the search for truth—life being a true soul-seeking for the Holy Grail. For Lowell the search ended in possession of a religion, neither born of the Puritan creed of the New England meetinghouse nor of the Catholic dogma of the French cathedral, but combining elements of each by action of that synthetic attitude of mind which made it possible for him to interpret the sermon of the one and the mass of the other in the formulæ of a broader faith in a God-order which knows neither Puritan nor Catholic.

But it is quite fair to say that his poem could not have found inspiration in the barren atmosphere of a New England meetinghouse: its fitting place of birth was in the grand old minster on the banks of the Eure, with its august triple port, and dedicated shapes of saints and kings, keeping silent watch over the generations of men as they come and go—the cathedral of Chartres. With definite purpose of self-culture, or of setting at rest some questions as to faith, he went away from Cambridge-on-the-Charles to the ancient French town and its minster—that Gothic pile in which the stern old Northman had built his thought of life and death and doom. But, though he had gone abroad to give his imagination some new delight, he carried with him the skeptic spirit of the Protestant New World—the free thought of Boston—and beneath the high-embowered roof raised prompt questions as to the reality of that ancient rite for the performance of which the cathedral stood:

> Is old Religion but a specter now,
> Haunting the solitude of darkened minds,
> Mocked out of memory by the skeptic day?
> . . . Did Faith build this wonder, or did Fear?
> That makes a fetich, and misnames it *God?*

It is the one question which springs during an era that may fitly be termed an interval of inspiration. Religion persists, but its "signs" vanish, and the voice of the "prophet" is no longer heard. Then the skeptic, with his eternal question comes—and all phenomena of faith are subjected to his chemic, psychic, or other test. Lowell was not a skeptic of the Montaigne type, but, face to face with the products of a venerable creed, so mixed of truth and error that his Puritan conscience revolted, it was inevitable that he should see the juggle of history and legend, priestcraft and tyranny, in the Church and its rites. Yet, as he sat in the great old church, a woman entered and, before a shrine, told her beads, reciting automatic paternosters, and invocations to a woman saint. The act was typical of Roman Catholicism in the characteristic of its superstitious submission to the priest, yet the poet heart found bond of sympathy with the heart of the unsuspicious devotee, though still his intellect debates the verity of a creed that fears the rigid scrutiny of the scientific reason. To him, however, two truths emerged:

> Be he nowhere else,
> God is in all that liberates and lifts,
> In all that humbles, sweetens, and consoles.
>
> Each age must worship its own thoughts of God.

Inspiration knows no interval, though its phases vary and its organs change from age to age.

> Man cannot be God's outlaw, if he would,
> Nor so abscond him in the caves of sense
> But Nature still shall search some crevice out
> With messages of splendor from that Source
> Which, dive he, soar he, baffles still, and lures,
> This life were brutish did we not sometimes
> Have intimation clear of wider scope,
> . . . . . .
> A mystery of Purpose, gleaming through
> The secular confusions of the world,
> Whose will we darkly accomplish, doing ours.

The tides of divine revelation are ever current—it is only to the gross and clouded eye of doubt that they seem to ebb. There are no confusions in the historic sequences, but purpose—a holy purpose of a holy God—and this is true, though we know neither that purpose nor the part that we ourselves are playing in its fulfillment, doing only our own will, yet also doing the will of God. Religion, in one of its finer aspects, is vision of this purpose—or interpretation of the Divine, as it shows in nature or in history—a reading of the God in language and life of the *kosmos* and the man—or a sense of that larger life which touches the lesser life of man, as the boundless atmosphere rests upon the little globe in its measured orbit.

Now, because the soul has these visions through the enviroining veil of mystery—because there are visitations of a Higher Spirit—our poet asks in doubt if its life is to find expression in the tedious ritual, the printed liturgy of the Church—and pleads against the crude materialism that would raise a barrier between the human spirit and the soul of God, always seeking worshipers, not in the roofed and walled-in temple, but in the open spaces beneath the sky, or else in home or shop. Against the forms of worship Lowell protests—because they *are* forms—because in the very nature of things the high meanings once inherent in them have faded off, and can never be reproduced by later and other using. Repetition does not open them to the soul of him who says them, however often: he must make a new word for himself—a new speech, his own. That was the key and secret of Methodism—protest against ritual, and plea for originality of religious experience. That, also, was the key and secret of transcendentalism. Lowell was sympathetic with Emerson and the Concord school when he craved freedom, originality, self-sufficiency in religion—though retaining ancient names and obsolete formulas—and learned the theoretic secret of the holy faith when he found that soul never attains its truth of life until it comes soul to soul with God in mystic fellowship of speech—or spirit. The infinite and

the finite—the relative and the absolute—the apparent and the real—these are two articles of the same law—and the divine and the human are two articles of the same life—as in Jesus of Nazareth. All life is leveled—"every man's his own Melchizedek;" it is the spirit of democracy—and democracy always has its battle with exclusiveness, with privilege, with authority. And so the last man holds the same privilege as the first man—right to fashion his creed out of sense and spirit, ready at his hand—a high privilege, but, also, a duty which it is easy to shirk if a priest be at hand to perform vicarious service. Lowell knew, or sought to know, the inward surety, as the loyal Quaker knows the "inner light"—and in the frankness of his nature discerned in Jesus the "character" of God—the incarnation of the moral sense—a Man who, because he could not conspire with the secular spirit of his day, must die—the victim of malignity which blinded a corrupted priesthood to vision of eternal truth. Crucifixion is incidental; self-devotion is eternal. If the Cambridge poet, living in the gracious society of Elmwood, did not aspire to that type of life realized in Paul, Francis of Assisi, Madame Guyon, Luther, or Wesley, he fulfilled the noble purposes of a program which, in his day, involved, more than any other, the spirit of universal justice —the abolition movement—and, therefore, more than any other, the holy spirit of a holy God. If he was an aristocrat —for so he seemed—he was a true democrat, because democracy is the legitimate and necessary outcome of the theocratic idea. He was a theocrat, too, because he believed that the human form was the true temple of God, and that the true function of society is the protection of this form, its guardianship for peace and purity. He held the same ideal that Mulford held, and John Wesley, and Luther, and Knox, and Paul—the realization of moral order in politics.

"Through society to God" ought to be as normal a process of thought as "Through nature to God;" and Lowell, optimist as he was because he believed in the living God, believed that, somewhere, somehow, the great moral purpose under-

lying cosmic history was being fulfilled. This was his philosophy of history, which, with the Hebrew prophets, he consistently held under the crucial conditions created by the crisis of 1861. From his high level as a scholar, a poet, a philanthropist, he surveyed the wide fields of history and in all the evolutions of events saw the ethical drift—as for instance, in the downfall of the so-called "Holy Roman Empire," and in the overthrow of slavery in the United States; not, perhaps, as Isaiah or the Apocalyptist saw it, but not less clearly, less convincingly and imposingly. God does not leave himself without a witness in the victory of ethical forces in the field of history, as, let us say, in the outcomes of the Dreyfus case—a case which in the hands of an Old Testament prophet would have blazed with the fires of Jehovah's justice. There is a Force back of historic phenomena, operating under all the conditions of self-conscious human freedom. Cognizance of this Force constitutes prophetism—at least in its ethical foundations: it is disclosure of a divine power at work in the world dealing directly with human affairs; the interior union of the seen with the unseen, of the temporal with the eternal, of the human with the divine. And because it is true that revelation is always current, and God immanent and immediate in nature and history, there is no need of miracle—we remember that fine passage about the function of miracle in Browning's "A Death in the Desert" no conversion of water into wine, no raising of the dead! These may have happened, these signs and wonders, but the true seer of God has no need of other sign of God than the ethic unfoldment of history. As a mystic—all poets are mystics—Lowell attempted no solution of the problem involved in the doctrine of the immanence of God—in the interrelations of the human and the divine will. Without being able to demonstrate the truth of his philosophy, he believed, with the psychologist Royce, that every finite purpose is a partial expression and attainment of the divine will, and also that every finite fulfillment of purpose is a partial fulfillment of the divine meaning. But a McKinley, dying

by hand of assassin, may say what the assassin himself may not say, "It is God's way; the will of God be done!"

And so it was that as Lowell sat in the old cathedral at Chartres, scarcely seeing the building for the thoughts that it bred, the significance of humanity lay more and more clear to him:

> I gaze round on the windows, pride of France,
> Each the bright gift of some mechanic guild
> Who loved their city and thought gold well spent
> To make her beautiful with piety;
> I pause, transfigured by some stripe of bloom,
> And my mind throngs with shining auguries,
> Circle on circle, bright as seraphim,
> With golden trumpets silent, that await
> The signal to blow good news to men.

"To blow good news to men"—that, for Lowell, was the destined aim and end of all angelic, all ecclesiastic ministries; and, on the other hand, the destined aim and end of manhood is God:

> Shall not that Western Goth; . . .
> So fiercely practical, so keen of eye,
> Find out, some day, that nothing pays but God,
> Served, whether on the smoke-shut battlefield,
> In work obscure done honestly, or vote
> For truth unpopular, or faith maintained
> To ruinous convictions, or good deeds
> Wrought for good's sake, mindless of heaven or hell?

In the coaction of man with God in those moral activities which, as their objective, contemplate the redemption of human society is the basis of incarnation, the basis of all true prayer, the foundation of the true Church, against which the gates of hell can never prevail. But as the poet passed from the solemn silences of the cathedral, turning for one last look upon the minster's massive front, "Silent and gray as forest-leaguered cliff," he saw the nests of sparrows, sheltered in the holy walls, and then the larger shadow of the sparrow hawk, and the questions that had seemed rested within the minster walls arose again in presence of the facts of nature; for here was strength opposed to weakness, here was inequality hostile to the theory of democracy, with its dream of equality, liberty, and fraternity, constituent of the adminis-

tration of God himself. The sparrow lives, and does not fall without the Father's knowledge; but the sparrow hawk also lives, and the actual administration seems an antinomy in which the contradictions are solvable in the belief that God himself is love and that, though good and evil are mutually exclusive and permanently antagonistic, they are counterbalanced in an economy which makes even evil contribute to the dominance of good in the ultimate purposes of existence.

So, things are not as they seem, and the cataclysms which bring death minister to life. Beyond all these is God.

> O Power, more near my life than life itself,
> Even as the roots, shut in the darksome earth,
> Share in the tree top's joyance. . . .
> By sympathy of nature, so do I
> Have evidence of thee so far above,
> Yet in and of me!
> Rather thou the root
> Invisibly sustaining, hid in light,
> Not in darkness, or in darkness made by us.
> If sometimes I must hear good men debate
> Of other witness of thyself than thou,
> . . . . .
> My soul shall not be taken in their snare,
> To change her inward surety for their doubt
> . . . Muffled from sight in formal robes of proof;
> While she can only feel herself through thee,
> I fear not thy withdrawal.

This is the true testifying of the Spirit of God; this is the essential religion, true, holy, and catholic, in which life comes to its noblest peace and its most gracious power. When it shall be apprehended all life shall become a sign of God, and the ways of the common duty shall flash like wonders; and the miracles of the Book shall seem not greater proofs of God than the providences of mercy, and the exhibitions of justice, and the benedictions of peace.

G. M. Hammell.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

A PLEADER for the physical man, the rights of flesh and blood, says: "Our instincts and impulses were not given us by Heaven in order that we might disobey them." To this Dr. W. L. Watkinson replies:

> No, indeed; they were given us that we might rule them and sanctify them by the higher law; and it is only by godliness, righteousness, and renunciation that we realize the glorious possibilities of our incarnation. There is a remarkable passage in one of Godwin's letters to his daughter, in which the cynical old man confesses from a stronger standpoint the efficacy of self-denial: "It is a refinement in voluptuousness to submit to voluntary privations. I always thought St. Paul's rule, that we should die daily, an exquisite epicurean maxim. The practice of it would give to life a double relish." The pagan could discern the virtue of self-denial; it gave life a more exquisite relish. If you wish keenly, vividly to realize the body, interrupt, limit, deny, sanctify its gratifications. Moral loftiness, and mastery of spirit over flesh, give the last piquancy to the world of sensation. If you would know the utmost pleasures of appetite, put the puritan into the sybarite. Without godliness, abstinence, and high thinking the pleasures of sense are gross and brutalizing, and they perish in the using.

WE cannot resist the impression that the undue stringency of the old Calvinism has given place in these days to an undue laxity even more dangerous; a laxity which makes itself felt in diminished regard for law, excessive sensitiveness as to the infliction even of necessary pain, mawkish sentimentality concerning criminals, and an obstinate incredulity with respect to the threatenings of the Scripture. Sermons on future retribution are certainly far less frequent than of old, but are they less necessary? That there should be modifications in the phrasing of that solemn doctrine need not be objected to, but that it should drop almost wholly out of our pulpits we cannot think healthful either to the community or to the church. A weak and nerve-

less proclamation of the truth, which hardly dares to hint, what Scripture makes so plain, that terrible suffering awaits the finally impenitent, and which holds out to the sinner "an eternal hope," will not meet the needs of sorely tempted humanity. We agree with F. W. Faber, where he says, "I see a real good, solid, wholesome work to be done in real good, solid, wholesome souls by frequent meditation on hell; and I cannot bring myself to sacrifice it to the sickly insincerities and dishonest ignorancies out of which so large a proportion of temptations against the faith arise."

SUNRISE AT SEA.

From midocean Dante Gabriel Rossetti wrote to his mother, "Yesterday I saw the sun rise over the sea—the most wonderful of earthly sights." Did you ever witness a sunrise at sea on a calm morning?

You look out of your porthole before dawn and see the faintest possible hint of daylight yonder. You go on deck. The east gives a pale promise of the morning, just the first soft glimmer from "the gates ajar" of that heavenly chamber whence the sun will, by and by, come rejoicing. A low, doubtful, slowly growing light spreads, encroaching on the shadows in the east. The sky beds itself on the dark gray sea with a deep foundation of intense, dark, rich orange, and builds upward with gradations of yellow and green and colors no one could name. Infinite changes gently succeed, miracles of transformation, glory passing into glory. The stars fade slowly, blinking at the increasing light, like old religions dying before the Gospel. So smooth is the water, it is certain when the sun rises above the horizon he will stand with his feet on a sea of burnished glass. The clouds have bent a triumphal arch over the place of his coming, and one broad cloud makes a crimson canopy to the pavilion which awaits the king. Graceful, airy clouds hover like spirits that expect a spectacle; shortly they put on glorious robes, and their faces are bright, as if, like Moses, in some lofty place they had seen God face to face. The meanest tattered cloud that lies waiting, like a beggar, at the gates of the morning, for the coming of the king from his inaccessible chambers of splendor, is dressed, while

it waits, in glory beside which the apparel of princes is sordid and vile. For more than an hour, a long, long hour, you watch the elaborate, unfolding pageant of preparation go on in the east. With a quivering hush of culminating wonder, you await the grand uprise of the sun. Will he ever come? You almost doubt. At last, when the ecstasy of expectation has grown intense, a thin narrow flash of brilliant, dazzling fire shoots level along the sea, swift as lightning. Swiftly it rises and broadens till, in one moment, the dusk immensity above is kindled by it; another moment, and the far-off gloomy west sees it; in another, the whole heaven feels it; and yet one moment more, and the wide circle of the sea is molten silver.

It is done, all done. The thing, so long preparing and approaching, bursts into completion. The day is full blown in a moment. The few heavy piles of clouds on the horizon look like castles in conflagration and consume away; the sun's burning gaze scorches from the rafters of the sky the light cobwebs of mist and fleece; and now the sun has the clean temple of the heavens all to himself, paved with silver, domed with azure, pillared with light.

THE OUTLOOK FOR TEMPERANCE.

That the cause of Temperance is further advanced and in a more encouraging state in the United States than in any other of the great countries of the world may be seen from the following statistics published by no less careful and unbiased a body than the Board of Trade of Great Britain:

Per Capita Consumption of Alcoholic Liquors in Gallons.

	Wine.	Beer.	Spirits.	Total.
United Kingdom	9.39	31.70	1.12	42.21
France	25.40	6.20	2.02	33.62
Germany	1.45	27.50	1.94	30.89
United States	.33	13.30	1.06	14.69

A prominent American apostle of Temperance, recently returned from a round-the-world tour of investigation, makes report of his observations in confirmation of these statistics. From these and many other tokens it is obvious that the outlook for the diminution of indulgence in alcoholic beverages is brighter here than elsewhere, and better now than ever before. The best

methods of fighting the drink demon may not yet have been agreed upon, but prolonged and varied experimentation is adding to our practical wisdom; and we are gradually working toward agreement and the ultimate unification of the forces of Temperance in one great concerted movement. Probably not by one huge sudden overwhelming wave will the liquor traffic be swept away, but by the steady rising of the tide of sentiment, and the perfecting of strategic methods by experience, and the irrefutable scientific exposure of its awful ravages, its merited doom will sweep over and submerge it forever out of sight.

It is in this country that a campaign of education against intemperance has been carried on for a hundred years; and every part and phase of that long campaign has imparted some momentum to the forward movement. Despite all fault found with the churches, the Christian Church and its men and women have led and sustained, with the unfailing "perseverance of the saints," this great humane crusade of rescue and reform. The Church, through its best men and women, has brought about that practically national system of school instruction which aims to teach all children scientifically the injurious effects of alcoholic drinks. The obtaining of Local Option laws from State Legislatures for rural regions, and also (which is more difficult) for cities, is a practicable measure of improvement. The extension of Prohibition to an increasing number of States, with means for making it more effective, is a future certainty. The Anti-Saloon League is a sagacious and formidable antagonist of the liquor power. The custom, rapidly spreading among railroad and other corporations and among individual employers, of requiring total abstinence on the part of all employees is an efficient form of compulsory education to workingmen and their children. The increasing diffusion through the press, as well as by text-books, of hygienic and sanitary information is making the general public acquainted with the conditions of health, and with the fact that alcoholic drinks are related to disease and not to health. The emphasis upon athletics in the schools induces a study of the regimen which makes for bodily strength, and the physical trainer is a Temperance advocate and lecturer. The ambition of women in society to attain a perfect physical condition for the sake of personal attractiveness and the matchless charm and sweet beauty of pure healthiness contributes to dis-

courage the drinking habits of fashionable social circles. In the largest and most elegant hotels wines are less frequently seen in the dining rooms; various mineral and carbonated waters being extensively substituted. A multitude of elements are subtly working to dissolve the foundations on which distilleries and breweries have built the fabric of their malign, disgraceful, and accursed prosperity. The intensifying currents of intelligence, morality, and religion, by a mighty electrolysis running everywhere, are eating away the pipes which distribute liquid damnation through the land.

A significant token, not to be left out of Hope's cheerful reckoning, is the present attitude of the Roman Catholic Church toward intemperance, which calls forth the following recent comment:

> Few Protestants realize how severely this Church condemns drunkenness, or how strongly the ban which it puts upon the business of saloon-keeping has operated to bring it into its present disrepute. A plenary council of the bishops in this country, held as long ago as 1866, exhorted pastors to zealous work against intemperance, declared worthy of praise those who pledge themselves to total abstinence, and enjoined them to "frequently warn their flocks to shun drink-houses," and to "repel from the sacraments liquor-dealers who encourage the abuses of drink, especially on Sunday." A later council returned to the subject, and left on record injunctions which continue the law of the Church, that Catholics engaged in the sale of intoxicating liquors should "consider seriously how many and how great are the dangers and the occasions of sin with which their business, although not in itself illicit, is surrounded;" that they should, "if possible, choose some more honorable way of making a living;" and that if they cannot quit it they should "strive with all their might to remove the occasions of sin from themselves and from others," that they should refuse to sell drink to minors or those likely to go to excess, and that they should "keep their saloons closed on the Lord's Day." It is an interesting fact that this attitude of the Church has very largely driven Catholics out of the business of saloon-keeping.

In view of the vast and powerful influence of the Papal Church in circles and levels of life where drunkenness has prevailed and wrought immeasurable degradation and woe, its resolute action and peremptory demands in favor of Temperance help to brighten the future of these United States.

BISHOP MERRILL ON THE HIGHER CRITICISM.*

WHAT should be the attitude of the Church toward "higher criticism"? This question crowds itself upon our attention whether we wish it or not. It is here, and will not down. It meets us at every turn and confronts us in our most prudent efforts to conserve the truth. It seems necessary that every teacher of religion have some fairly well-defined theory or posture to hold, and that he hold it with modesty and firmness during the period that is evidently formative, wherein sharp contentions of thought seem unavoidable, even while much of it is crude and immature.

It may be that not one can define satisfactorily to himself the exact position the Church, as a whole, should take, as in the carrying out of the fundamental principle of the right of personal judgment there must be found limitations to the right of one class to dictate to another; and yet, where harmony of sentiment is important, there will doubtless be a possibility of finding common ground, well removed from extremes, where all who earnestly desire the truth can safely work together for a common end without sacrificing principle or forcing conscience. Strange, indeed, if this is not the case. If it be not possible, we have indeed fallen upon unhappy times.

There are some things in this connection which neither the Church nor her influential teachers can afford to do. The question cannot be ignored with any safety. We cannot go on affirming as facts anything which learning discards as untrue, or which will not stand the test of sound criticism, whether the criticism be lower or higher. What we teach must have a substantial basis. Intelligence demands this. Theories will yield to facts, as they ought, and dogmas must turn to the light and take shape from the last manifestations of actual knowledge. There is no such thing as hiding the truth, or holding it forever from the people. It is by the manifestation of the truth that the true apostle commends himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God. There is no possibility of honoring the Bible by shutting out any ray of light that can be thrown upon its pages.

On the other hand, the Church cannot afford to accept as fact

* Because of the subject, source, and character of this article we exclude editorial matter in order to reprint it from the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, to which it was contributed.

that which is only hypothesis, theory, or conjecture. We are often asked to do this, and the demand is urged with such vehemence and persistence that one needs vigilance and self-poise to resist the plausible pleadings of scholarly voices enlisted in this behalf. Just at this point not a few have been swept from their steadfastness. Sad havoc is wrought in this way in schools and colleges. There is great fascination in novel speculations for students of scholarly ambitions, when such speculations appear with historical or scientific settings, clothed in the garb of modern learning, and appeal to the pride of intellect which detests bondage to tradition. To my mind one of the regrettable things, which is deplorable in its results, is the readiness with which our teachers accept hypotheses as facts and present them to their pupils with the weight of their own personal opinions in their favor, when all the claims of duty and of the higher wisdom would be met by presenting them as hypotheses yet to be studied. Eliminate what is thus treated, and the residuum of conclusions now taught in the schools, antagonistic to the older faith, would be neither numerous nor formidable. In other words, deduct from the sum total of the teachings of "higher criticism" all that is yet chiefly conjectural, and the remainder—that which is undoubted fact—will not imperil any doctrine essential to the Christian faith. Up to the present the foundations stand sure.

Those among us who denounce all that is known as the "higher criticism" as destructive, infidel, and of the evil one, are too inconsiderate and rash to be permanently influential. We want to know all that can be known about the origin, date, and authorship of the books of the Bible; and we covet the light on these matters and hail it as the right of the Church and a benediction, from whatever source it may come, our chief concern being to know that it is light and not darkness. As light drives away darkness, so an increase of intelligence may dissipate some ancient opinions, but it certainly will not destroy any faith that is divine nor rob the Church of any revelation that God has made to men. It is not the real work of the higher critics that we deplore. In an important field they have wrought vigorously and well. Let them be commended for all that they have accomplished in their legitimate sphere. Like the archæologist or the antiquarian of any sort, their search is for facts and their business is with facts. Speculations about facts or interpretations of

their discoveries are less legitimate to their calling, less in accord with their special training, and more apt to betray them into lines of reasoning detrimental to their usefulness and hurtful to the interests which ought to be their inspiration and their joy.

Some things are necessary on the part of the Church in order to gather the best results of the achievements of the higher critics. Their rightful place and work must be recognized and conceded. The real essentials of the faith must be defined and understood. What might be spared from traditional notions respecting the Bible without injury to its divine authority, ought to have careful study and discriminating judgment. It is a mistake of grave import to confound the incidentals of a revelation with the revelation itself. It is equally unfortunate to regard the manner or mode of inspiration as essential to inspiration. What God does is not dependent on His way of doing it. He spake to the fathers in "divers manners." Hence the modification of a theory of inspiration does not necessarily destroy the inspiration. If men once thought that God used inspired men as men use the pen with which they write, dictating words and syllables, at once employing and overriding human agency, and then subsequently discovered that He inspired the man and not the pen, and used his mind and heart as well as his hand, their idea of inspiration will undergo some change; but the fact of inspiration is not affected nor its importance diminished. Instead of loss there is real gain in the nearer approach to the correct apprehension of the fact.

In many instances the bearer of a message is utterly unimportant, while the message is of the highest value. The fact that we do not know the name of the writer of a book does not interfere with the importance of a book, if its contents be understood. Whether Moses wrote the books bearing his name with his own hand, or employed a trained scribe to assist, or whether he used genealogical registers or other documents available, is not essential to his authorship of the Pentateuch, nor to our faith in him as the divinely appointed leader and lawgiver of Israel. No one supposes that his own hand penned every line, as certainly he did not write the account of his own death and burial.

Nor is a later revision by a later hand out of harmony with the scope and purpose of the books of the law. If words are found in them, or idioms or shades of thought of later date than Moses,

showing that a revision by Ezra, or by some other inspired or providential person, took place when adaptation to the language or other conditions of the times was necessary, this fact does not disprove their original authorship nor their authority as the revelation of God's will for the nation. So what if some other than Job wrote the book of Job, or if others than David wrote some of the psalms, or if some other prophet than Isaiah wrote part of the book of Isaiah? All these points are open for study, and that without involving the essential character of the Bible, or the faith of the Church, or the doctrine of inspiration, or any other doctrine dependent on the Bible as the word of God.

As Methodists we believe in "all the canonical books" of the Scriptures. We believe in each book according to its purpose, contents, and value. This does not oblige us to believe each as important as the others, nor that any one has a character beyond its own sphere, purpose, or pretension. Ecclesiastes has not the same purpose as Isaiah, nor would its absence leave so large a space nor involve so great a loss from the volume of Revelation as would the book from which Jesus read in the synagogue. While each book has its place, its scope, its value, and its binding force, and is to be esteemed for itself, the less conspicuous and important books are not dishonored or disparaged while receiving less reverence than those of broader significance and higher import. All this we can concede with perfect consistency, and do believe it without the slightest concession to infidelity, or to any class or grade of destructive criticism. We hold it not through stress of pressure from without, but as in accord with the best and truest conceptions of that marvelous compilation which makes up the book we honor as the book of God.

Criticism has long been honored in the Church. Scholarship commands respect. The older commentators were higher critics. They sought to know the dates, authors, historical settings, the exact reading, and all that could be known about the books of the Bible. Adam Clarke labored assiduously in this field and made progress quite in advance of his times, so that modern discoveries go but little beyond where he marked the way, and modern critics seldom surpass him till they enter the field of speculation. Had he made a specialty of criticism and thrust his views in that field into prominence, leaving out his evangelical teaching, he would have stood well to the front as an advanced thinker as well

as a scholar of first-class attainments. Yet was not his orthodoxy impugned. His scholarship was not incompatible with faith in the supernatural, nor with the highest type of evangelical loyalty to Christ. So with many others. Rationalism has no monopoly of learning. The most learned critics are reverent in spirit and true to the Gospel of grace. Such bring no peril to the Church. They never proclaim their doubts. If doubts assail them, they wrestle with them till the solution comes, as come it will, and then they preach their invigorated faith with the unction born of their new struggles and new victory.

My heart goes out in sympathetic appreciation toward all workers in the legitimate sphere of criticism, believing much is being done to clear away the accumulated rubbish of the ages and to free the Holy Scriptures from accretions and misunderstanding which clog evangelical faith and give the enemy occasion to blaspheme. Heresy abounds, and will, till God's word stands forth freed from bondage and able to break the fetters of ignorance and superstition. Let the light shine! In this work pretenders will appear. False prophets and false apostles are ever of old. Destructive critics and champions of doubt are bold, boastful, blatant, self-asserting, and proud. Like Satan, they overdo till reaction comes. Honest, humble learning, with intelligent delving, will counteract the devices of unbelief and bring to light the refined gold of the kingdom. Let no lover of truth tremble for the ark of God.

The Church wants truth and invites research. Her attitude toward higher criticism is that of a sympathetic and yet jealous friend. She watches for the coming of new evidence of the truth as one watches for the morning during a night of storm. She honors earnest toilers in all lines of learning. Yet will she not tolerate pretentiousness. She wants no deceptions nor will she accept opinions for facts. Discrimination is her business. Mere inferences from half-known premises do not enrich her store of knowledge. While appreciating the good in the learning of to-day, she cannot cast aside the solid learning of yesterday. Her Bible is her jewel. It has passed through fires as hot as will ever be kindled. The word of the Lord standeth forever.

THE ARENA.

CHRIST *AND* BROWNING.

THE title which in the March-April number of the *Review* placed Browning in opposition to Christ must have given pain to more than one reader who worships the matchless Teacher, yet gathers much inspiration from the "poet's poet." The evident sorrow with which the writer of that note seems compelled to give up a part at least of his literary idol in order to hold fast the sound doctrine of Christ by contrast reminds one of the agony of Romanes when he surrendered faith, with its comforts, in order to follow the cheerless path in which he fancied that scientific truth forced him. Happily for that conscientious devotee of truth, ere reaching the end of the life journey he came back to the rest of faith, bringing his science with him. Perhaps this pained student of Browning may as happily find at length that the views of his much-loved instructor on the penalties of the finally impenitent are really in accord with the revealings of the great Teacher sent from God.

The question of restorationism is not, "Shall many be lost?" but, "Shall any be lost?" He that believes that only one person shall be finally and forever lost is spoiled for the company of the restorationists. Christ answered not the curiosity which coveted to know the proportions between the lost and the saved. And when he opened the door of woe with a brief parable he showed torment, but not companionship. The one who there speaks pleads for water, and to be saved from company, even of those he once loved most. But the Father's house has many mansions, and abundant society is there. But the region of the lost may be a wilderness of extreme loneliness. One may go far toward the largest hope for the future blessedness of the greatest portion of mankind, and yet assert that for one being at least it were better had that man never been born. Such a belief makes one a great optimist, but such an exception saves him from being a restorationist. Instead of opposing the teaching of Christ, is he not in greater accord with it than was Dante, whose mediæval fancy peopled his Inferno with myriads of beings?

One passage found in the depths of "The Ring and the Book" appears to me to settle the question of Browning's views on the subject. This is probably Browning's masterpiece, and it is indeed a work of proportions titanic in every sense of the word. The passage in view concerns Guido, one of the principal characters. He it is who has married a young, pure, and beautiful wife for money, then tortures her, makes accusations against her as base as they are false, and finally murders her. His is one of the most horribly ill-shapen characters ever imagined and portrayed for the immortal

pages of literature. He is a fit companion for Iago, and for him who betrayed the Son of man with a kiss. The passage is an utterance of the priest Caponsacchi. It is no fragment of traditional theology, but the outburst of a certain "instinct of his own i' the matter." In it he speaks of the kind of sentence which justice demands for such a criminal. The whole passage is for several reasons worthy of careful study. It shows that underneath the big-hearted sympathy of this great author were granitic foundations of regard for eternal justice. It also shows the preacher of to-day, who, swinging pendulum-like away from the lurid and literal methods of the fathers, has fallen into almost entire neglect of the dark issues that follow the final judgment, that there are conceptions of the doom of the wicked which are none the less awful for the lack of red fire and the odor of brimstone.

Let us go away—leave Guido all alone
Back on the world which knows him now!
I think he will be found (indulge so far!)
Not to die so much as to slide out of life,
Pushed by the general horror and common hate
Low, lower,—left o' the very ledge of things,
I seem to see him catch convulsively
One by one at all honest forms of life,
At reason, order, decency, and use—
To cramp him and get foothold by at least;
And still they disengage them from his clutch.
"What, you are he, then, had Pompilia once
And so forwent her? Take not up with us!"
And thus I see him slowly and surely edged
Off all the table-land whence life upsprings
Aspiring to be immortality,
As the snake, hatched on hilltop by mischance,
Despite his wriggling, slips, slides, slidders down
Hillside, lies low and prostrate on the smooth
Level of the outer place, lapsed in the vale:
So I lose Guido in the loneliness,
Silence, and dusk, till at the doleful end,
At the horizontal line, creation's verge,
From what just is to absolute nothingness—
Whom is it, straining onward still, he meets?
What other man deep further in the fate,
Who, turning at the prize of a footfall
To flatter him and promise fellowship,
Discovers in the act a frightful face—
Judas, made monstrous by much solitude!
The two are at one now! Let them love their love
That bites and claws like hate, or hate their hate
That mops and mows and makes as it were love!
There let them each tear each in devil's-fun,
Or fondle this the other while malice aches—
Both teach, both learn detestability!
Kiss him the kiss, Iscariot! Pay that back,

That smatch o' the slaver blistering on your lip,
By the better trick, the insult he spared Christ—
Lure him the lure o' the letters, Aretine!
Lick him o'er slimy smooth with jelly-filth
O' the verse and prose pollution in love's guise!
The cockatrice is with the basilisk!
There let them grapple, denizens o' the dark,
Foes or friends, but indissolubly bound,
In their one spot out of the ken of God
Or care of man, forever and for evermore.

Hillsboro, O. S. O. ROYAL.

A STUDY IN HUMAN NATURE.

PROFESSOR HYDE, in his excellent article on the Earl of Shaftesbury, in a recent number of the *Review*, has a very brief reference to the fact that the clergy did not stand by him in his philanthropic efforts. This does not express the whole truth. The case was so bad and so instructive that it seems to us to deserve emphasizing and illustrating by other citations. And Lord Shaftesbury's own positions on various matters were so curiously inconsistent as to demand a word of mention. Human nature is a very interesting study. It is at best a bunch of contradictions, a bundle of queer freaks and mutually conflicting traits, a strange medley of wayward notions and obstinate prejudices.

The noble earl plaintively writes: "To whom should I have naturally looked for the chief aid? Why, undoubtedly to the clergy. But from them I have received no support, or next to none. As a body they have done, are doing, and will do nothing. And this throughout my whole career." "Here at Manchester the clergy, as usual, are cowed by capital and power." "Sinners were with me, saints against me." "Although I stand fast by the teaching of the Evangelicals, I do not hesitate to say that I have received from the hands of that party treatment which I have not received from any other. My only enemies have been the Evangelicals." "I am oftentimes puzzled by the strange contrasts I find—support from infidels or nonprofessors, opposition or coldness from religionists. They read and study the Bible, they pray for guidance, they ask and surely obtain God's grace to judge aright. Then they resolve to weaken my efforts." He speaks of the "utter intolerance of the Evangelicals."

Yet he was himself an intimate friend and counselor of Haldane, the chief proprietor and leader writer of the *Record* newspaper that so maliciously and intolerantly hounded Maurice, Robertson, and others who stood for a measure of intellectual freedom. He was very bitter against the reformers in all other lines than his own, declaring that mischief and subversion were their main objects. "They cannot have a just plea for their policy," he said. "Civil and religious liberty are complete with us, the people have not a wrong

unredressed, nor the radicals a right unattained." Yet this was some years before the repeal of the infamous Conventicle Act which forbade worship in a private house by more than twenty persons, and against which a majority of one was with the utmost difficulty secured in the House of Lords. Lord Shaftesbury was a determined advocate of the Established Church, with all its inevitable and notorious injustices. He voted, with the Peers, every time against the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, which the Commons unanimously passed year after year. He spoke against the Reform Bill of 1867, enlarging the number of voters. He opposed, in 1871, with the utmost vehemence, the Secret Ballot Bill, denouncing it as "everything that is dangerous in politics, mean in morals, and cowardly in the discharge of duty." He was always a stanch Tory and a rigid Churchman, holding that "the democratic principle is antichristian." He was a stout opponent of the revision of the Authorized Version of the Bible—"Ten thousand evils will ensue," he said. He fought fiercely against neutrality in religious matters on the part of the India government; considered that there must be religious teaching in the public schools, and that not to have it "would be without exception the grossest violation of the rights of religious liberty that ever was perpetrated or even imagined in the worst times by the bigotry of any government, whether foreign or domestic." He was an intense Premillenarian, and had the gloomiest apprehensions as to the religious and political future of his country. He was at no period a total abstainer; he urged the continuance of the custom of drinking in convivial banquets.

It is surely instructive to note how the man who did such marvelous things for the oppressed in some directions should have stood so stoutly for the oppressors in other matters. He is by no means alone in this. Among the most heated opponents of his Factory Bills which have done such untold good were Gladstone, Bright, Cobden, Brougham, Buxton, Peel, and other reformers. It is well known how keenly Mr. Lincoln felt the fact that a very large majority of the most prominent men in the churches of Springfield, together with twenty out of the twenty-three ministers, were against him in 1860. He stood for freedom, for the principles of the Bible, was on the side, he was sure, of the God who hated injustice and slavery, and yet nearly all the Bible people and the teachers of religion in his vicinity voted for his opponent.

This has happened over and over again. Voltaire, to mention only one other curious example, fought against oppression and cruelty, fought in behalf of justice, tolerance, and humanity, with all the keenness of his radiant genius. He flung himself into the cause of the poor and the persecuted and the wronged, and secured in many instances a redress of their wrongs at great expense of time and money. He hastened the abolition of serfdom throughout France, and relieved the poverty of many. He had love of justice, faith in human nature, and hatred of cruelty and all fanaticism—qualities

which have been almost wholly lacking in many who have stood high in the Church, and in most of the Church of Voltaire's time and land.

These facts and instances might be greatly extended; but we must not take space so to do, or to make upon them the lengthy comments to which they might profitably give rise. What a mixture is human character! There is surely a soul of good in things evil, and a soul of evil in things good. Only the Omniscient can unravel the tangle, or give righteous judgment. How rarely do we act from a single motive! How infrequent is genuine, thoroughgoing honesty in the formation of opinions! How few are entirely disinterested in their conduct or their ideas! How few can escape the compelling influence of their associations! How careful should we be in our condemnations! How many things must be taken into account in making up our estimate of others! JAMES MUDGE.

Webster, Mass.

OUGHT QUESTION 51 OF THE CATECHISM TO REMAIN?

IN the supplemental Sunday school lesson for June 1 we find: "51. Can we repent and believe of ourselves? No; the power to repent and believe is given us of God. Eph. ii, 8; Rom. xi, 29."

First, the references are irrelevant. In Eph. ii, 8, it is the salvation and not the faith that is God's gift, as is evident both from the structure of the text and from the context. Rom. xi, 29, has no reference to the personal salvation of the individual, but to God's covenant with Israel: "The gifts and calling of God are not repented of" (R. V.)—that is, irrevocable. The word in the original is not that which is used in the commands to repentance. I am unable to find any passage in the Bible where repentance is spoken of as a gift, unless in Acts v, 31; xi, 18, and in these places it is evidently conferring an opportunity, or a privilege, and not as bestowing power.

Also, the subject of natural or gracious ability to repent and believe is too abstruse to introduce into an elementary Catechism. Under present conditions we have the ability, else it would not be commanded. If the question and answer must stand the references should be stricken out, and a note should be added asserting our ability and duty to use the gift conferred. S. E. QUIMBY.

Milton Mills, N. H.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

SUGGESTIONS FROM THE BIOGRAPHY OF AN EMINENTLY SUCCESSFUL PASTOR.

FEW pastors, in our generation at least, have exercised a wider and more beneficent influence from the Christian pulpit than the late Dr. John Hall did during his entire ministry. This was due mainly to three causes. He had a church of commanding influence. Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church has for half a century been one of the most prominent pulpits of New York city. Some of the strongest ministers in the denomination have been its pastors. Indeed, the church has been strong in those elements which necessarily make a church powerful. It has been strong spiritually. The people have loved to hear the pure Gospel, and, so far as we are informed, were impatient of any kind of preaching that was not characterized by a profound evangelical spirit. A people of this kind are in the nature of things a spiritual people, else they would not desire in the pulpit spiritual truth and delight in it. It has been strong also intellectually. Its people have been, many of them, persons of the highest intelligence and of thorough education, capable of appreciating the more advanced, as well as the simpler, forms of Christian thought. Further, it has been a church of great financial ability, and a large contributor to the benevolences of the denomination as well as to the general benevolences called forth by the needs of humanity. These elements combine to make it a church of great power, and the pastor of such a church necessarily would wield a large influence. We must, therefore, give credit to the church of which Dr. Hall was so long the pastor as contributing to his pulpit and pastoral influence.

But an important element in his successful ministry was his own personality. Dr. Hall was built for a Gospel minister. His bearing and his personal appearance were impressive. He combined dignity with simplicity, quietness and modesty with boldness, reserve with freedom of expression. To the casual observer he would seem to be a yielding character. Those who knew him best realized that he was a man of great strength of conviction and of determination of character, which he showed in important crises in his life. There was that about him which commanded respect, and there was no circle in which he moved that his power as a Gospel minister was not felt.

Another element of his influence was his preaching. His sermons were so simple that some people supposed they lacked profundity, but if an inferior man had attempted to imitate him he would have failed. He never preached to listless or dull congregations. For a quarter of a century, in that large church, he held great congrega-

tions to his ministry. It would be difficult to describe his character as a preacher. His sermons were carefully prepared and were delivered without manuscript. He was especially strong in the evangelical side of his ministry. His teaching contained the marrow and fatness of the Gospel. Many went to hear him for this very reason. It has been said that people would leave their own churches for the afternoon service in order to hear what they called a real religious sermon. The arrangement of his sermons was so simple that to a casual observer they lacked analysis, but a closer inspection would show them to have been prepared in logical order and were the expressions of a logical mind. These were some of the elements that contributed to his wide influence for so long a period. A study, therefore, of his ministry, which we gather from his biography, written by his son, Rev. Dr. Thomas C. Hall, may be of value to young preachers and pastors.

The first suggestion is that Dr. Hall made preaching and pastoral work his great business. He was a writer for the press also, and a lecturer. But these were, in reality, an extension of his pulpit efforts. The same tone of seriousness and of moral earnestness pervaded all his public efforts. So much did he enjoy preaching that it was his custom after he had conducted the morning and afternoon services in his own pulpit to preach for some other church in the evening. A fuller view of his high position as a preacher will appear in a quotation from one who knew him well, and whose words were written soon after Dr. Hall's acceptance of the call to New York, the Rev. Thomas Croskerry, of Londonderry, Ireland. It will be remembered that Dr. Hall came to New York from Mary's Abbey, Dublin:

"The pulpit was the throne of his power. He was no talker of drawling platitudes or explanatory futilities, with affected rhetoric or artificial turns of phrase, or mental inanity, whose sermons act upon part of a congregation like chloroform, while they drive another portion into thinking of nothing, a third into wondering when the preacher will be done, a fourth into ill-natured criticism, and a fifth out of church altogether. He was something more than a mere pounder of texts in a doctrinal mortar; something more than a dry, didactic talker after modes beaten flat by the incessant hammering of centuries. In fact, Dr. Hall was one of the freshest preachers of the age. He preached, too, as he talked, with a fine conversational freedom and naturalness, and was so singularly lucid and happy in expression that he was, to our mind, the Goldsmith and Franklin, in one, of the Irish pulpit. His sermons—some of them, if rumor is to be credited, like Jonah's gourd, the offspring of a single night—are powerful from their heavenly unction, their beseeching tenderness, their popular scope, and above all, their wide range of analogical illustration. He was, indeed, singularly skillful in analogies, in the structure of those 'aerial pontoons' which bridge across the literal and the figurative. It is, perhaps, the

highest praise of Dr. Hall's sermons and speeches that they do not read well, for it is a well-known fact that the newspaper speech which is polished and rounded, and Ciceronian in its periods, is anything but popular or pleasing to an audience."

Dr. Hall's biography also suggests his modesty and his avoidance of any attempt to make an impression of his ability beyond that which he was able steadily to maintain in his pulpit ministrations. It is not uncommon for men who enter upon a new field of ministerial labor to endeavor to make a marked impression at the beginning. He, on the other hand, determined to adhere strictly to his ordinary presentation of the truth according to his ability. It was not only an act of wisdom, but also of good sense, that led him to adopt, on his arrival in New York, the method indicated in the quotation herewith presented. This was written to a friend in Ireland soon after his pastorate commenced in New York: "I have begun with *ordinary* sermons that I might not pitch the standard of expectation higher than I could honestly keep up—have eschewed all attempts at sensationalism, and told the people that our reliance must be upon the steady, patient teaching of divine truth."

Some references in his biography to criticism and the speculative discussions of the time indicate his attitude toward the new movements which were then beginning to affect the Church. While receptive to all truth, he was content with the forms of expression in which he had been reared and in which he had achieved such success. He was in no sense hostile to investigation, but nothing had occurred to disturb the serenity of his faith in the great truths of the Bible and in their ordinary modes of expression. "His theory of inspiration remained an unshaken faith that, whatever errors transcription might have introduced into the pages as we have them, inerrancy in a very strict sense was to be attributed to the inspired words." "In the refinement of theological speculation he had little interest. For him the theology that resolved the doubts of the ordinary theologically untrained hearer was sufficient. He knew nothing of German speculative theology, and was inclined to regard it as useless if not dangerous. At the same time he felt that a trained minister who had the opportunity should master it if he could. Very early in the theological training of the present writer he advised acquiring a knowledge of French and German, and more than once he himself undertook the study of French. Yet he did not feel the necessity for his own thought of work along the directions of modern speculation and scientific inquiry. He was apt to distrust new phraseology, and felt even some measure of impatience with those whom the older phrases no longer satisfied, and who were compelled to recast the forms in which faith was expressed."

His biography further suggests reasons why the pulpit is not more powerful. It will be seen from the quotation herewith given that he attributed it in part to the preacher and in part to the people. It

is not common for us to attribute failure of a minister to the people, and yet he clearly shows that there are conditions in the churches which make it very difficult for a preacher to achieve success. By placing the blame alike on the pulpit and on the pew, he presents a phase of the case not often recognized:

"Presbyteries, indeed, can use greater care in admitting to the place of preachers those who are destitute of the power to preach; but as regards those of us who are licensed, our preaching must depend on our congregation first, and secondly on ourselves. If our people weary and harass us with a multiplicity of small matters they could better manage themselves; if they demand that we swell the pomp of every social gathering, sit through every committee, and be on hand generally for anything and everything, then we shall be inferior preachers. The same unhappy end can be reached by forcing a portion of our strength away from our work, as, for example, to the acquirement of further means of living, or the painful and anxious economy of what we have."

"Much depends on ourselves. If we live mainly among books and little among men; if we defer the severe labor of composition till the end of the week, and then think how to get respectably through for the Sabbath, intending to do better next week; if we take no pains to know the points at which we and the message we carry can come into contact with the minds of our hearers; then plainly our preaching power will be small, even though the union were a thousand times more glorious than it is. But our preaching power is our real power, and there is not one among us that will not own that we could have made much more of it. While, therefore, the great events of our time cannot in this respect improve us, it were surely a good time for our people and ourselves to seek that improvement. A living church will always be a preaching church. The decay of the pulpit goes hand in hand with the decay of piety, partly as cause, and partly as effect. We shall be strong when men shall feel that where the church is Presbyterian the strong presumption is that there will be in it *thoroughly good preaching.*"

He incidentally calls attention also to the method of training in which he had been reared when a student of theology. It is clear that the attempt was made to instill in the students the power of extempore speech, in which Dr. Hall was such a master. He wrote carefully but did not employ manuscript. His simplicity of language and clearness of thought contributed largely to his success in this direction:

"It was the rule of the classes for the student to receive texts, and to preach from them before the professor and the class, and to receive such criticism from the professor upon arrangement, matter, and manner as he felt to be proper. The sermons were commonly memorized and given verbally as written. Reading was not the order of those, to the preacher, solemn occasions. We were not, of course, taught that memorizing the language was to be our enduring

method, but that careful writing contributed to order, clearness, correctness of description, and definiteness. All my experience since my student-days confirms that impression.

"My ministry began, and continued for three years, in somewhat peculiar conditions, the congregations consisting of the Protestant gentry not Presbyterians, a few Presbyterians, and the majority not only not used to Protestant services, but many of them not used to the English language. It was necessary to prepare to speak in such a way as to interest the educated and at the same time to be intelligible to the rest of the hearers. It was not uncommon to deliver a carefully prepared sermon in the forenoon, to go, frequently on foot, seven or eight miles in the afternoon, and repeat it to a corresponding congregation in the evening. The experience of the morning sometimes led to modifications in the evening. What seemed to be obscure to the hearers in the morning was clarified as much as possible in the delivery to the evening hearers."

His biography indicates that he was not a controversialist, and yet he never hesitated to take his part in the discussion of the important questions that arose. Always a man of profound convictions, he was willing to take the responsibility of adhering to them, in public as well as in private. Some occasions in which he did this are clearly stated in his biography. There are instances in his career which show that he was possessed of great moral courage, and could carry on a controversy when it was necessary, but always with kindness and dignity. "Let it be said to his credit that he always exhibited, in debate, a high-bred Christian courtesy, and that he abstained from all those weapons of fierce and sarcastic recrimination which do so much to lower the moral status as well as lessen the influence of the ministry."

His biography further indicates that he recognized ministerial vacations as of value, as indicated in the following passage concerning the method of taking his vacations. In another part of his biography, however, it is said that he never abstained from work during his vacations.

"The summer vacations were variously spent. One of the simple pleasures of my father's younger days was a walking trip in Wales. With light luggage, and living on the simple fare of the kindly Welsh people, he walked all over the northern and southern parts of Wales, and retained to the end of his life a great admiration and deep regard for the Welsh people. A little Erse which he had picked up in Connaught helped him to make his wants known where only the Welsh tongue was known. He also visited with my mother and a dear friend the principal continental cities, traveling in France and Italy as well as Switzerland. The vacations were short, but in successive trips he covered in this way a good deal of ground."

These are some of the suggestions that come to us in reading the excellent biography by his son, and they are suggestions of great value to the young minister.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

PAPYRI.

EGYPT is, *par excellence*, the land of papyri. In spite of the great number already discovered, every year continues to bring forth from the sands and ruins in the Nile valley fresh and valuable ones. It is really astonishing how many have been unearthed, and are now deposited in the museums of the world. According to a recent authority, Turin alone has no less than ten thousand papyri, of all descriptions, values, and sizes. The University of Oxford has not far from seven thousand, and Heidelberg many thousands, while Vienna, London, Paris, Berlin, Cambridge, Cairo, Constantinople, Alexandria, and other smaller cities possess a very large number. There are, again, a great many papyri in private collections and in the possession of dealers and speculators. Some of these thousands are of little or no literary value, mere fragments or scraps, and yet too precious to be destroyed; for how often has a single line aided the earnest seeker after truth!

The literary critics of classical literature have been greatly aided in their investigations and work by the light afforded by the papyri. Several fragments, more or less complete, of some Grecian writer have been unearthed during the past two decades. Of this we shall give illustrations farther on. But perhaps no class of students have gained more from these recent discoveries in Egypt than those interested in New Testament textual criticism. Whoever will compare recent works on this subject, such as Professor Gregory's *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, with older Handbooks or Introductions cannot fail to notice the very large number of manuscripts and fragments recently discovered in Egypt by scholars like Petrie, Grenfell, and Hunt. May we not say that most of the recent additions to the lists are those which were found in this ancient land?

Indeed, it is no wonder that Egypt should contain so many ancient classical and Christian documents of great worth. There is no climate anywhere more favorable to the preservation of ancient documents than that enjoyed in the Nile valley. The papyrus is as "indestructible as the pyramids and obelisks." It will also be remembered that Egypt was at all times, owing to its central position, a great commercial emporium, a meeting place of the nations. The intercourse between Syria and Palestine was always great, and perhaps never greater than during the first centuries of our era. The Christian religion took a firm hold in many places around Alexandria and along the northern coast of Africa at a very early time. These facts explain the existence of so many foreign art treasures in Egypt. Though fresh papyri are being added every year to those al-

ready discovered and deposited in our museums, the reader should remember that a very large number of these have never yet been scientifically examined or deciphered. We, therefore, have a perfect right to expect startling discoveries when these shall have been accurately read and classified. Indeed, every time a careful study of any collection has been made some important item has been added to our knowledge. Professor Nestle, speaking of textual criticism, says: "A systematic search in the libraries of Europe might add still more [manuscripts and fragments] to the lists; a search in Asia and Egypt would certainly do so."

While many societies and individual workers from every part of Europe and portions of America have been carrying on systematic explorations in Egypt, perhaps the most successful of all organizations in this field is the *Egyptian Exploration Fund*. This society, though British, is most liberally patronized by the friends of archæology in the United States. The Fund is evincing more and more its appreciation of the support accorded it by Americans interested in archæology. This explains the liberal donations made by the Fund of valuable papyri, as well as other objects found in Egypt, to several of our more prominent institutions of learning. By this handsome donation no fewer than one hundred and eighteen fragments of papyri, discovered for the most part at Oxyrynchus, have become the property of American museums. Of these valuable relics twenty-nine were given to the University of Pennsylvania, nineteen to Harvard, sixteen each to Yale, Columbia, and Johns Hopkins, thirteen to Princeton, five to Hamilton College, and four to Vassar. The distribution was made upon the basis of the amounts paid by these several institutions or their immediate friends to the Egyptian Exploration Fund. It will be seen that the University of Pennsylvania heads the list as to number as well as to the comparative value of the papyri given. Indeed, the people of Philadelphia have shown a most generous devotion to archæology, and this city will doubtless for a long time have the most valuable collection of antiquities from the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates.

The papyri we are now discussing were found at Oxyrynchus, now called Behnesa. That this ancient town was at one time a great literary center is very evident, else how can we account for the presence of so large a number of classical texts as have been found there by the Cambridge professors?

It is really of great interest to know that, perhaps, the earliest fragment of a manuscript of the New Testament yet discovered was unearthed in this old Egyptian city, and is now preserved in the museum of the University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia. This venerable papyri has written upon it a portion of the first chapter of St. Matthew's gospel (i, 1-9, 12, 14-20). How provokingly disappointing that only one page of this old book has been found, and that in a very dilapidated condition. But may we not indulge

the hope that more of the same manuscript may follow? It is difficult to determine the exact age when this fragment was written, but the character of the letters and the "book-form" of the manuscript have led some eminent students of paleography to assign it to the second century of our era, or, to be more exact, to the time between 150 and 200 A. D., though Professor Gregory, in his above-mentioned work, brings it down to the fourth century. Dr. Winslow, writing concerning these papyri, in *Biblia*, is probably a little too enthusiastic, for he calls this fragment not only the oldest piece of New Testament known to us, but also the most "valuable of all the papyri yet discovered in Egypt." Whatever its age, it is pleasant for Americans to know that this fragment can be seen not in Berlin, Paris, or London, but in Philadelphia. The next most important papyrus of this collection is that which contains the first seven verses of the Epistle to the Romans. This, with other valuable treasures, has been placed in the museum of Harvard University. Its date is 316 A. D.

We shall now speak more in detail of these old papyri sent to the various institutions in this country. Of the fragments given to the museum at Philadelphia two deserve special mention: the fourth book of Thucydides (caps. xxxvi-xli) and a very excellent manuscript of the fifth book of the *Iliad*. The former, according to Grenfell and Hunt, belongs to the first century of the Christian era, and the latter to the second. It is thus one of the oldest fragments of Homer's writings extant, possibly as old as the papyrus fragment, containing a large part of the eighteenth book of the *Iliad*, discovered more than fifty years ago. These and other fragments brought to light in Egypt are extremely valuable, when we remember the great scarcity of early Greek manuscripts. "There is no complete manuscript of Homer earlier than the thirteenth century. All that is preserved of Sophocles is found in a single manuscript of the eighth or ninth century. The only complete manuscript of the Phædo was copied in the Middle Ages."

The papyri sent to Yale have a portion of Plato's *Republic*, written in the third century, and a small fragment of the *Iliad* (book xxii) which describes the tragic death of Hector. There is also among these papyri a comedy by some unknown author, written, however, in excellent style, and a fragment of a speech against Philip of Macedon, or rather an answer to a letter sent by that monarch to the people of Athens. The following sentence is worth quoting: "Let the threats in his letter deceive barbarians; but the city of Athens is wont to give commands, not to receive them." To judge from the style of writing and general make-up of the fragment, the date cannot be later than 50 A. D.

Columbia College received a fragment of Xenophon's *Hellenica* (vi), and Johns Hopkins one of Thucydides. Both of these belong to the second century. The latter institution has also a papyrus written about one hundred years later, which contains portions of Demos-

thenes' celebrated oration on the Crown. To the University of Princeton was given a fragment of Herodotus (i, 76), which bears every evidence of having been written as early as the second century. Of the nine fragments donated to Vassar and Hamilton not one has classic value, for they are all either business memoranda or official government papers.

The papyri which we have very briefly noticed above, as the reader will perceive, are of interest to biblical and classical students. The balance of the one hundred and eighteen fragments donated to our museums are nonliterary and need not to be mentioned by title; and yet, though they possess no literary value, they are nevertheless worthy of our attention, inasmuch as they throw considerable light upon the civilization which prevailed in Egypt at the time when they were executed. Some of them are purely commercial in their character, others deal with matters of state and municipal government, while others again take us into the sanctuary of the home, lift up the veil of secrecy, and reveal to us in a very naïve way the social customs and the domestic life of the citizens of Oxyrynchus and the neighboring towns. One writer speaks of the significance of these leaves and fragments of leaves in the following eloquent words: "They bear witness to the conditions of the past with an accuracy, a warmth, and a fidelity such as can be predicted of no author and only of a very few of the ancient inscriptions. The tradition handed down to us by the writers of antiquity is always, even at its best, secondary; it is always more or less artificial and sophisticated. The inscriptions are often cold and dead things like the marble on which they are carved. The papyrus leaf is alive; one sees autographs, individual peculiarities of penmanship—in a word, men." (See *Encyc. Bib.*, vol. iii.) Among these papyri are receipts of all kinds, such as those for poll taxes, for labor on public works. Then we have the monthly meat bill and similar household accounts, and the urgent request of a dependent sister to her brother for some new clothes. We have the announcement of the birth of a son, notice of a death, and a letter of consolation in the hour of bereavement. There are, again, mortgages, deeds, transfer of property, as of houses and tracts of land, the revoking of a will. There is a pretty invitation to a wedding feast, and a judicial accusation of a faithless wife, and the institution of divorce proceedings. There are long lists of cattle and animals of various kinds, property returns, the sale of a donkey, order for arrest, and a *habeas corpus*. Human nature being much the same in Egypt two thousand years ago as in our land at present, we are not surprised at any of the above items, nor indeed at an old-fashioned "dun" to a delinquent customer, or the urging of prompt payment of interest at "eight per cent." Nor are we in the least astonished to read of a case of embezzlement or peculation by a dishonest municipal officer.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Johannes Kreyenbühl. The problem of the origin of the fourth gospel is still the leader among New Testament students. That gospel is so important to the prevailing theology that it is defended as the work of the apostle John with the greatest tenacity, and, on the other hand and for the same reason, it is vigorously asserted by the opponents of that theology that John could not have written it. When it is denied that the apostle wrote it the question at once arises, Who did write it? This question has been exceedingly difficult to answer, and this fact has occasioned the anti-Johannites no small amount of trouble. Kreyenbühl thinks he has triumphantly settled the matter and he has selected Menander the Gnostic as the author, thereby making the fourth gospel a gnostic document. See *Das Evangelium der Wahrheit. Neue Lösung der johanneischen Frage* (The Gospel of Truth. A New Solution of the Johannine Question), Erster Band, Berlin, C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1900. Kreyenbühl got his hint from a statement of Irenæus (*Haer*, book iii, chap. xi, sec. 9), that Menander had written a work called "The Gospel of Truth," which was so unlike the four gospels known to the Church that if it was the gospel of truth the others were gospels of falsehood, and *vice versâ*. Kreyenbühl claims that Irenæus knew perfectly well that some one belonging to the Valentinian school wrote the fourth gospel, but that he nevertheless attributed it to John, or, rather, claimed that there was another gospel actually written by John, to make out the four which Irenæus affirmed were necessary. This gnostic gospel, now known as the Gospel according to John the Apostle, was written by Menander, in the interest of a gnosticism whose purpose was to develop Paulinism in a mystical direction. This purpose led to the introduction into the gospel of a mass of particulars which have hitherto been wholly misunderstood, but which, properly understood, stamp the fourth gospel as a gnostic apocrypha of Menander of Antioch. Kreyenbühl supposes that with but few exceptions the elements which have been so precious in the gospel of John were the product of Menander, who spoke throughout of his own experiences and development, to which, it is claimed, the language of the gospel is appropriate, while to the experiences of Jesus they are wholly inappropriate. Of all the attempts to solve the Johannine problem we regard this as one of the most unpromising. To begin with, it is based on the supposition that Irenæus deliberately falsified, but that while opposing gnosticism he palmed off on the Church as apostolic a known forgery written in the interest of gnosticism. This would make Irenæus both a knave and a fool. Then it is a remarkably strange thing that though the early Church

was so familiar with gnosticism and so afraid of it, no one saw through the deception and opposed it. The theory breaks down of its own weight.

Rudolf Eucken. The genial philosopher of Jena is restlessly active in the consideration of the great questions which pertain not only to the abstruse realm of philosophy, but also of practical life. His latest published study is *Der Wahrheitsgehalt der Religion* (The Truth of Religion), Leipzig, Veit & Co., 1901. Eucken thinks that there is a tense antagonism between the intellectual life of man at present, especially in the departments of science and art, and Christianity as it is manifested in the Church of to-day. This antagonism is not new, but has existed for hundreds of years. No one who has a clear vision of the facts, he thinks, can deny this, nor ought anyone to hope that the antagonism will cease until there is a complete transformation, or reformation, of the ecclesiastical form of religion. On the other hand he recognizes that there is in our day a powerful movement, which is ever growing more powerful, toward religion. In the higher life of man religion is a necessity. Religion is not only an integral part of that higher life, but this cannot be maintained without that. In view of this growing interest in religion Christianity encounters a great danger of missing the adherence of many because of the attitude of the Church which regards so much that is outgrown as essential. It is a pressing necessity to show that there is a clear distinction between that which is merely the temporal form and that which constitutes the abiding content of Christianity. It is possible, and even demanded, that we shall give up the former in order to allow the latter its unhindered effect, and so give the Christian religion the place in the higher life of man which is its due. And Eucken does not pretend to deny that in giving up what he calls the temporal form of Christianity much will be lost that large numbers of Christians regard as essential. Since there is no superior tribunal whose decision will carry with it sufficient weight this difference of opinion will continue, and so Eucken does not hesitate to say that the so-called progressives may be obliged by their consciences to separate themselves from the conservative Church. The history of separatist movements based upon the alleged superior insight into the eternal truth in Christianity does not warrant the supposition that those who oppose the Church now would become adherents of the form of Christianity Eucken proposes. When religion is robbed of all that is supernatural men no longer care for it; and since the principal opposition to the Church arises from its belief in the supernatural consistency demands and will be satisfied by nothing less than the complete elimination of the supernatural. This Eucken himself would not allow, and hence his expurgated Church would not satisfy. The true reform will consist, not in adapting the Church to modern thought, but in the careful sifting of the false from the true.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

L'origine de l'episcopat. Étude sur la fondation de l'église, l'œuvre des apôtres et le développement de l'épiscopat aux deux premiers siècles (The Origin of the Episcopacy. A Study of the Founding of the Church, the Works of the Apostles, and the Development of the Episcopacy during the first two Centuries). By André Michiels. Louvain, J. van Linthout, 1900. One who wishes to enjoy a specimen of Roman Catholic historical investigation and interpretation, and at the same time learn how weak is the argument for apostolic succession, will do well to read this book. It illustrates the looseness of thinking which alone can lead to Roman Catholic conclusions; for time and again Michiels reads into the source, whether scriptural or other, his own preconceived opinions without the slightest suspicion that he is so doing. For example, he sees in the sending of the twelve by our Lord the establishment of an apostolic college with definite official authority. From such passages as Matt. xvi, 16-19; xviii, 17, 18; xxviii, 18-20; Mark xvi, 15; John xx, 20, 21; and xxi, 15-17, he draws many conclusions wholly unwarranted, such as, that the Church was at that time a visible and organized community, the primacy of Peter over the whole Church, and the like. It may surprise some to learn that Michiels champions the complete identity of the *επίσκοποι* with the *πρεσβύτεροι* in the first century. They are the leaders, pastors, and priests of the individual congregations, and with reference to their dignity are called *πρεσβύτεροι*, while according to their function they are called *επίσκοποι*. This, which is a commonplace with most Protestants, is contrary to the interpretation of the Council of Trent. But Michiels saves himself, probably, from the condemnation of the Church, first, by appealing to the authority of Thomas Aquinas, and especially by the declaration that although *πρεσβύτεροι* and *επίσκοποι* were identical during the first century, that century was not therefore without its real bishops, the only thing lacking being the name. He assumes that the prophets and evangelists, in the absence of the apostles from any place, received the power of transmitting the office and thus securing the apostolic succession by the administration of the appropriate ceremony. Timothy and Titus were among those delegated to employ this apostolic office. But, alas for the theory! since the record says that these two were to ordain *πρεσβύτεροι* in every place, but says nothing about the alleged real though unnamed episcopacy, which Michiels supposes they perpetuated or began. And even Michiels is compelled to allow that the manner of the succession cannot be clearly traced.

"Niedergefahren zu den Toten." Ein Beitrag zur Wurdigung des Apostolikums ("He descended to the Dead." A Contribution to the Estimate of the Worth of the Apostles' Creed). By Carl Clemen. Giessen, J. Ricker, 1900. It will be noticed that Clemen says "to the dead," while for the most part we read "into

hell," or "Hades." His reading may have some slight support in the manuscripts, but it is determined still more by dogmatic considerations. According to Clemen, Jesus did not descend into Hades to combat and overcome the devil, as was thought by some after the time of Origen, but to preach to the spirits that were in prison (1 Pet. iii, 19, 20). Nevertheless this does not mean that he confined himself, in his preaching, to those who were drowned in the Noachian flood. They are mentioned because of their proverbial interest, but the phraseology is designed really to cover and include all those who had died prior to the descent of Christ into Hades. Clemen is very certain that whenever this comparatively late constituent of the Apostles' Creed may have been admitted to its present position it was so admitted because of the teaching of 1 Pet. iii, 19. Jesus did not merely find his place among the dead, as do others, but he purposely descended to their midst that he might preach to them the same Gospel he had preached to those who were living when he was upon the earth. And though the Peter passage does not say so the real significance of it is that in the life after death there is something which corresponds to our evangelistic activity constantly going on. So Clemen thinks, and he supports his view with the usual reasons, including the passage in Rom. x, 14. From the standpoint, therefore, both of exegesis and dogmatics he regards the doctrine of a continued probation in the next life a Christian doctrine. It is, perhaps, a worthy effort, considered from the standpoint of history, to strive to fix some meaning upon the strange and, to most of us, meaningless portion of the Creed which Clemen has chosen for study. And one can but sympathize in some measure with him in his interpretation, especially as it applies to those who have never in this life heard the Gospel, or who, having heard it, were so circumstanced that they could not receive its full impression. The main difficulty is with the dogmatic presupposition that only those who have freely accepted the Gospel of Christ can be saved. If this be true, then our infant children who die are not saved, but are still on probation, and, if there is the same freedom of the will in the next life as in this, may refuse the call as so many do here. This takes away much of the comforting power from a doctrine which has its chief support in the emotional nature of mankind.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Saxon Protestantism and Cremation. That burial and not cremation is the custom of disposing of the bodies of the dead most in accord with the letter of Christianity, and in some aspects with its spirit also, none will deny. The Germans have had a serious time with the relation the Church should sustain to the growing custom of cremating the dead. The Saxons have at length determined that the clergy shall take no part in the act of cremation nor give it any

official countenance, though they may hold services in the house of the departed, or in a mortuary chapel, under such circumstances as will not seem to lend sanction to cremation itself. But in no case is the minister to participate in any services preliminary to cremation if the family of the departed themselves provided for the cremation, or if the departed did it himself with a view to showing his disregard of Christian belief and custom. It is to be feared that the Church will have to recede from this action unless it wishes to fix one more barrier between itself and certain classes of the people of the Fatherland.

The Sultan's Gift to German Scholars. Through the efforts of Professor von Soden, of Berlin, the sultan has recently sent to Berlin the literary contents of a small room within a mosque in Damascus, hitherto sacredly guarded against outsiders. Several of the documents are quite valuable for purposes of research. There is a fragment of psalm seventy-eight translated into Greek and Arabic, the latter being written in Greek characters, so that it is possible from it to learn the ancient pronunciation of the Arabic language. There are some Samaritan fragments from the Pentateuch, valuable simply because from Samaria; some fragments of the New Testament in Greek, out of the fourth and fifth, perhaps also out of the third century; peculiar translations of parts of the Old and New Testaments into Palestinian Syriac, which is closely related to the language of Jesus; pages containing old Syriac prayers, and other liturgical pieces, which give an idea of the old Syrian Christian worship. Also there is a portion of the Pentateuch in Hebrew, the age of which has not been determined; and a large fragment from a Greek father, of which there is as yet no more definite knowledge. This is but a portion of the gift; but it is sufficient to show that it may prove very valuable to Bible study.

The Financial Burden of Romanism in Spain. There is in Spain, according to statistics recently published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, a total of 154,517 ecclesiastics, including cardinals, archbishops, bishops, priests, monks, and nuns, or 1 to every 117 of the population. The total cost of the higher clergy is five and one third million francs, or about twice as much as the cost in France, where the population is more than twice as large, that is, it is more than four times as much per capita. The total amount of taxation for ecclesiastical purposes is about 70,000,000 pesetas, while in France it is about 30,000,000, showing that, comparing the populations, the ecclesiastical budget in Spain is about five times as great per capita as in France.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

ADOLF HARNACK has made himself, of late, a conspicuous figure, and his views a subject of much discussion. His recent writings received attention in two articles in the *Critical Review* (London) for May. Commenting on his lectures on "Monasticism" and "The Confessions of St. Augustine," Dr. Henry Hayman writes: "Professor Harnack is an idealist before everything. His power of wing is great, his flight bold and rapid, his contacts with *terra firma* comparatively rare. In order to sustain himself on air, he is obliged to discard the *impedimenta* of the concrete, and, once rid of them, the idea generates its own impetus; and the theorizing idealist is carried forward, like the poet's Camilla, over waving cornfields or tossing surges without paying homage to gravitation." That is a fair description of many other theological aeronauts who, like Santos-Dumont in his air ship, go circling around the Eiffel Tower of some tall theory which they have constructed, disdaining the *terra firma* of facts. But gravitation takes note of such flyers, and in due time brings them into sudden recognition of the solid ground. Professor J. S. Banks, of Headingley College, Leeds, notices Hermann Cremer's reply to Harnack's lectures entitled *What is Christianity?* To that question the answer of Harnack is, "Christianity has three articles, The Kingdom of God and its Coming, The Fatherhood of God and the Infinite Worth of the Soul, The Better Righteousness and the Commandment of Love." Nothing else besides those three; and they are taken from the Synoptic Gospels. Nothing from Paul or John, and nothing about Christ's Deity or Atonement! Harnack's teaching is that Christ is not the personal object of faith; Christianity is merely the religion which Jesus taught and practiced, not that which consists in the blessings that follow from his Death and Resurrection. But to make this consistent with the teaching of the Synoptic Gospels, and with the position Jesus assumes in them, a drastic excision must be applied to the Synoptics; see Matt. xi, 28; x, 32, 33, 37. Harnack's opinion is that the initial mistake of the Church was in substituting Christ and faith in Him as a person for faith in His teachings. If so, the mistake was made by the very earliest Church, by the men who had companied with Christ and been taught and trained by Him; and the entire Church since has done the same. Are Harnack's impressions more likely to be correct than Paul's or John's, which he proposes to set aside? Some recent teachers undertake to go behind the Synoptics. But they have no sources of information which enable them to do this. It is pure conjecture, and such speculations would land us in universal historical skepticism. Who would think of taking such liberties with Thucydides and Livy, correcting, transforming, rearranging, and cutting

their histories in pieces, according to his own whim, with no knowledge to justify such havoc? Yet when orthodox theologians resist such wanton trifling with long-accepted documentary history they are accused of arbitrary dogmatism. The reconstruction of recorded history in the interests of some novel theory incubated in the speculative brain of a German innovator has reached the point of ridiculousness. But, considering the sanctity and transcendent importance of the subjects thus violated, the liberties taken amount to sacrilege. These reconstructions minimize the New Testament, reverse Christ's position and the apostles' teachings, and revolutionize not only the hymnology of the Church but the entire faith of Christendom in relation to Christ. As the only way to get rid of the doctrines of Incarnation and Redemption is to get rid of the New Testament documents which teach them, the rejecters of the heart and center of the Gospel proceed to discredit and eliminate all that obstructs their rationalizing theories. Professor Cremer sets a scientific and historical method against the speculative. Writing of "The Work of Jesus, or His Suffering and Death, Resurrection and Ascension," he puts the old doctrine into modern phrase and defends it on modern lines. Writing of "The Miraculous Activity of Jesus," he shows that miracles are simply means to spiritual ends. Incarnation, resurrection, redemption, and regeneration, are the supreme miracles. The miracles are not solitary phenomena. A sinless Christ is as truly miraculous as the Stilling of the Storm or the Feeding of the Thousands. And, as Cremer says, we do not believe in Jesus because of the miracles, but rather believe the miracles because of Jesus; we do not believe in Jesus because of His Resurrection, but we believe His Resurrection because we believe in Him and His Deity. The *Critical Review* characterizes as follows the Fernley Lecture for 1901 by Professor J. G. Tasker of Handsworth College: "We could not name a better summary of the freshest thought on the Possibility and Nature of Spiritual Religion. Professor Tasker has thoroughly mastered recent speculations on the subject, and from theologians, philosophers, and poets he has gathered much valuable material. This he sifts and criticises so deftly, and gives his own opinions so lucidly, that even on this abstruse subject the simplest may run and read. Professor Tasker's volume may worthily stand alongside Mr. T. G. Selby's *Theology of Modern Fiction* or Mr. Watkinson's *Influence of Skepticism on Character* in the same series."

In the weighty contents of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for April (Philadelphia), part of which was noticed in our previous issue, no article seems more cogent and timely than Professor Edward H. Griffin's on "Belief as an Ethical Postulate." It neighbors with *The Will to Believe*, by Professor William James. It

sets forth the value of the ethical philosophy of Kant and the indispensableness of the Kantian appeal to the moral personality, but also shows that this must not be pushed to the extreme of ignoring the systematizing functions of the rational intelligence. The idea of worth as authenticating reality, which underlies the whole argument of Kant's *Critique of the Practical Reason*, echoes in this quotation from T. K. Abbott's translation: "The righteous man may say, I *will* that there be a God, that my existence in this world be also an existence outside the chain of physical causes, and lastly that my duration be endless; I firmly abide by this faith, and I will not let it be taken from me." This emphatic, almost defiant assertion and challenge, which has Robert Browning's peremptory tone, exemplifies, says Professor Griffin, the doctrine of value-judgments: it rests upon the assumption that the moral law has such supreme value for man that it justifies any postulates needful for its realization. We transfer a page of this poised and proportioned article:

Kant's assertion of the ethical self was an inestimable service. The arrogance of reason easily forgets that, in the last resort, we come back to nonrational grounds of belief. Regress from conclusion to premises cannot go on forever; there must come a point where we simply say, "This is a final postulate, which cannot be substantiated by inclusion under a more comprehensive truth." One must concede the position of Sigwart: "The universal presuppositions which form the outline of our ideal of knowledge . . . are, *a priori*, not in the sense of self-evident truths, but only in the sense of presuppositions, without which we should work with no hope of success and merely at random, and which therefore we must believe if we are in earnest in our endeavor after knowledge. They are postulates, and akin to the ethical principles by which we are wont to determine and guide our free activities." It is obvious that the ultimate conditions and prerequisites of reasoning cannot be proved by reasoning. The trustworthiness of our faculties, the rationality or knowableness of the universe—profound and comprehensive assumptions like these are moral postulates. What Mr. John Fiske, speaking after the manner of Kant, says of belief in immortality, "I accept it as a final act of faith in the reasonableness of God's work," indicates, as most persons will agree, the ground on which, as a matter of fact, belief in immortality rests. It is perhaps an exaggeration to say that freedom cannot be established by any process of reasoning, or by any appeal to experience, yet none will deny that the Kantian position has this measure of justification, that the evidence most capable of producing conviction is that derived from the moral consciousness. The greatest truths lie in a region inaccessible to logic, below the play of the observational and reasoning powers. This is the case with the ultimate truths of science. Why is assent of the rational and moral nature to primary religious truths any more open to question than the "inductive hazard" to which we are compelled in our endeavor to reach the truth of nature? "The scientific agnostic," says Professor Fraser, "is ready to take the inductive leap into the dark through faith in a natural order believed to be immanent in his sense surroundings; this leap is essentially an act of faith, and not the result of a purely logical process of reasoning emptied of all trust. Is he not

also required, under pressure of moral or spiritual necessities which remain latent in some men, to regard as also reasonable that still deeper interpretation of the universe which makes it at last the supernatural manifestation of supreme moral purpose?" An immediate affirmation of the soul, a direct unanalyzable conviction—to this we come back at last in every field of knowledge.

"If e'er when faith had fall'n asleep
I heard a voice, 'Believe no more,'
And heard an ever-breaking shore
That tumbled in the Godless deep,

"A warmth within the breast would melt
The freezing reason's colder part,
And like a man in wrath *the heart*
Stood up and answered, 'I have felt.'"

THE *Atlantic Monthly* for June sustains its historic level of diversified excellence. "The Humanities," by Irving Babbitt, and "A Dialogue in Hades" between Omar Khayyam and Walt Whitman, by Jean McIlwraith, are in company with a dozen other notable essays. From W. R. Thayer's appreciative criticism of Dinsmore's *The Teachings of Dante*, reviewed in our Book Notices months ago, we extract the following:

The broad interpretation which Mr. Dinsmore gives of Dante's view of sin and redemption is unusually fresh because he approaches the *Divine Comedy* as a Calvinist. The depth of his criticism can best be shown in two or three brief quotations: "Our modern orthodox" (that is, Presbyterian) "view," he says, "beginning with faith, emphasizes the redemptive grace of God, and insists that man is saved, not by what he does for himself, but by what God does for him and with him. . . . We measure progress by our deepening consciousness that our lives are 'hid with Christ in God,' and out of this sense of intimate relationship grow all Christian joy and peace and hope. Coming to Dante from the atmosphere of the modern pulpit, we are surprised at the utter absence of this feeling of the union of the soul with God during the process of salvation. . . . Another characteristic continually manifests itself. One cannot fail to note how conspicuously Christ is absent from this mighty drama of salvation. His work of atonement is assumed, his deity is fully recognized, but he himself is rather a celestial glory in the background than a pervasive presence on the scene of action. In Dante there is not the faintest intimation of the thought so prominent in these days, that Christ is Christianity. His is distinctively a gospel of a system, ours of a person. . . . He differs from nearly all preeminent preachers of righteousness in his starting point. He begins with man, they with God." . . .

At the outset, a casual reader might be misled by Mr. Dinsmore's many admiring references to Jonathan Edwards into expecting criticism of only parochial range; and, indeed, it is a mistake to call Edwards "our Puritan Dante." Edwards is now remembered chiefly for having mistaken a demon for God, and for describing the everlasting torments of hell with such terrific vividness that he has filled far more insane

asylums on earth than seats of the blest in heaven. It is time that posterity, which has repudiated his abominable teachings, should let his name sink into oblivion. Herod has been execrated for causing the slaughter of a few hundred innocent babes; but Edwards devoted his talents to convince the world that an omnipotent monster has gone on creating myriads of millions of human creatures, of whom hardly one in every thousand is "saved," and he calls this monster, who had not Herod's excuse, "God," that is, Good. Let us have done with Edwards, and cease to imagine that he is in any sense a Dante.

A notice of Hilaire Belloc's *Robespierre* characterizes it as a piece of imaginative biography produced by the modern subjective method. The singular young Frenchman, Robespierre, dying tragically at thirty-six, left himself one of the symbolic figures of history, and his personality has been eternalized by Carlyle's lurid epithets which describe him moving in the smoke and flame of the Revolution, "sea-green," "Jesuitic," and "incorruptible." Belloc says that when the wild storm of human fury was over, men, looking back, saw that Robespierre, though conspicuous, had lacked the quality of great captains; "he was seen to have neither *instructive human foresight* nor the *sad human laughter*, and there was *no exile in his eyes*." (These things, which Robespierre lacked, Abraham Lincoln had.) A frank and cool analysis of this "sea-green political Jesuit," concludes with this humane note of relenting and compunction:

"I fear to have done him a wrong. Such men may be greater than their phrases or their vain acts display them. I know that he passed through a furnace of which our paltry time can reimagine nothing, and I know that throughout this trial he affirmed—with monotonous inefficiency, but still affirmed—the fundamental truths which our decadence has neglected or despised, and is even in some dens beginning to deny. He saw God Personal, the soul immortal, man of a kind with man, and he was in the company of those who began to free the world. God have mercy on his soul and on each of ours who hope for better things."

An essay by A. J. George shows us the soul of Aubrey De Vere, of whom Sir Henry Taylor said: "His life has been a soliloquy, and he has talked so long to himself in solitudes and wildernesses of thought that he often seems as if he understood no other audience. Still his poems must make themselves felt across whatever gulf or chasm." De Vere, speaking of the dangerous though absurd paganism of some modern literature, wrote:

It belongs to that corrupted civilization which uses against Christianity those intellectual and imaginative gifts, as well as that social and scientific progress, which have been the gift of Christianity. Human nature, even in periods usually branded as barbaric, has qualities that reveal sympathy with the divine; it has ardent affections, simple refinement, singleness of aim, a noble self-sacrifice, and the unblunted sensibilities of love and reverence, without which the highest revealed truths cease to have a meaning. The heroic in its loftiest manifestations

stretches forth its hands to the spiritual; its very deficiencies are a confession that it must needs be supplemented by a something higher than itself.

De Vere expressed his idea of the function of great poetry in a letter thus:

Poetry which unites the manly and thoughtful, and both with the graceful, serves as a very special antidote to that which tends but to stultify the intellect and make the imagination effeminate while it rather hardens the heart than makes it tender. To direct the attention of readers, especially of young readers, both in America and England to the claims of high poetry is a noble work. In both countries there is a great battle going on between the two classes of literature the influence of which for good or for evil is already immense, and every day is becoming greater and greater. There is no calculating the power for good that belongs to those books which develop the spiritual as well as the religious and the reasonable in our being, or the mischief done by what elicits the taste which feeds on garbage, whether in the form of the sensual or of the merely conventional.

In De Vere's poem, "Cædmon the Cowherd," primitive instincts and the mild pastoral atmosphere are presented with the charm of gladness, repose, and emotional beauty. When the humble cowherd, declining to sing when the harp was passed to him at the feast, was taunted with being dull and slow like his oxen, he strode away, meek yet displeased, to his cowhouse in the mead to find there more comfort and suavity than in rough jeering human company. Hearing his step approaching, the friendly kine

> Turned round their hornèd fronts; and angry thoughts
> Went from him as a vapor. Straw he brought,
> And strewed their beds; and they, contented well,
> Laid down ere long their great bulks, breathing deep
> Amid the glimmering moonlight. He with head
> Propped on a favorite heifer's snowy flank,
> Rested, his deerskin o'er him drawn. Hard days
> Bring slumber soon. His latest thought was this:
> "Though witless things we are, my kine and I,
> Yet God it was who made us."

St. Patrick is made to say to Ireland:

> Happy isle, be true! Lamp of the North!
> My race, my realm, my great inheritance,
> To lesser nations leave inferior crowns;
> Speak ye the thing that is; be just, be kind;
> Live ye God's Truth, and in its strength be free!

When Becket, facing martyrdom, waits in patience for whatever God has in store, John of Salisbury praises him thus:

> He thought of God; he loved Him; in himself
> Saw nothing great or wise—simply a servant.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Blind Spot. By W. L. WATKINSON, D.D. Crown 8vo, pp. 278. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.

A volume of eighteen sermons, the first giving its title to the book, by one of the most gifted and brilliant of present-day preachers. Deep, tender evangelic zeal and courageous intellectual honesty blend in him. The fine workmanship of a master in Israel shows in his sermons. The sheen of beauty is upon his lustrous style, the gleam of genius is in the working of his brain, and the glow of Gospel fervor warms the whole. Those who heard Dr. Watkinson in this country in 1896, when he brought the official greetings of the British Wesleyans to the Methodist Episcopal Church, need not be urged to come to the feast which is spread in this volume. Overbrimming with literary riches, which he uses with exquisite taste for the illustration of truth and the illumination of life; familiar with nature's laboratory, whence he draws numerous charming hints and emblems; handling his keen and polished mental implements with consummate skill and grace, he is a master of spiritual appeal, spiritual stimulation, and spiritualizing effects. Every one of those sermons may be studied as in some sense a model. The one from the text, "They are white already to harvest," is a fair sample. The ripeness of all the world for the highest blessing is the lesson. Its urgency is that we go at once to our reaping in every field with brave hearts, strong hands, and keen sickles. We do not have to create a religious sense in men; it is there already, they are able to comprehend the Gospel and to appropriate its grace. In all men are unsatisfied longings that need God. Why do we doubt and defer? Humanity is prepared by its capacities and its needs. Our Lord's rebuke is true as to the *Young*. We think the children must wait and be let alone. We distrust early religious blossomings as premature. We say that they are too young to understand. The field is green; harvest time is far in the future. But we may underestimate the religious capacity of children. Without understanding theology they may be truly religious. Without knowing entomology they can admire a butterfly; without botany they can love daisies; though ignorant of optics, their hearts leap up when they behold a rainbow in the sky. "White Already" is the condition of the *Masses*. Take those who are *ignorant*. They must be educated, we say, before they can appreciate high spiritual truths. But how was it when Wyclif appealed to the serfs of Leicestershire; when Luther preached to the peasantry of Germany; when Wesley exhorted the colliers of Kingswood and the miners

of Cornwall? Without knowing arithmetic illiterate men and women can feel the worth of the soul; without understanding the cause of lightning they can cower under the wrath of God which thunders over the children of disobedience; without knowing grammar they can recognize the voice and understand the language of the Lord; without æsthetic culture they can admire the beauty of holiness. The rudest have sometimes rich spiritual sensibilities, waiting to be touched and thrilled. Take those who are *worldly*, submerged in the secular, apparently destitute of religious solicitude or susceptibility. Yet the spirit of God is at work under the thick clay of these carnal souls, as the springtide is working under the verdureless fields of March. Compunctions, misgivings, apprehensions, self-disgusts, world-satieties, make their inmost life a dissatisfaction and a secret distress. Their state is one of ripeness for the reapers who harvest souls for the garners of Heaven. Take such as are *vicious*. Far enough they seem from the kingdom of God! But Christ readily found a responsive chord in publicans and harlots. The guiltiest are prepared to feel the force of truths which reprove and convict. When their sins are scarlet they are white for the harvest. Souls in extremity, on the very verge of hell, are ready to welcome the Rescuer. When John Wesley found at Newcastle-on-Tyne the most shocking wickedness he had ever seen he wrote in his *Journal*, "Surely this place is ripe for the Master." A certain desperate character once spent the day drinking and fighting; at night he lay drunk in a hovel; a thunderstorm woke the dirty, bloody, muddled man. To his miserable, guilty soul, the thunder seemed the awful voice of God; he prayed; he vowed to leave his sins and live a better life; for forty years he lived it. That filthy, bleeding wretch was ripe to be gathered in, and Heaven used the lightning for a sickle. The Lord of the Harvest bids us go to multitudes like this poor drunkard. He says such fields are ripe. Jerry McAuley found them so, and has gone home with his sheaves. Take the *skeptical*. They seem out of reach. What do they need? Argument? Not so much as we think. Under his skepticism is an aching heart, a religious nature which doubts his doubts, a conscience which outargues him. He has to live, he has to die; infidelity is pitiably, contemptibly impotent and bankrupt for both. Adam Smith wrote as if he believed there was a Scotchman inside every man. Inside every skeptic is a man, with all the moral and spiritual needs of human nature; a soul homeless and friendless until he seeks the Father's House. Take the *savages*. What is the use of sending lofty spiritual truths to ferocious cannibals? "Civilize the degraded heathen first, and then teach them the Gospel." "Commerce is the best missionary." No! Let John G. Paton tell the miraculous story of the New Hebrides. Read the history of cannibal Fiji made Christian by the supernatural wizardry of the Gospel's touch, transforming and refining brutish men. The fields of heathen barbarism are "white already." Thrust in the mis-

sionary sickle, O Church of the world-wide Evangel! The Samaritans, whom the Jews thought unripe for the Truth, are typical of the great pagan nations of to-day. They had their temples, scriptures, rites, festivals, as India and China have; their religion was a strange jumble of truth and error, spirituality and necromancy, as is the religion of the Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus. Yet to the eye of Jesus the Samaritans were a field white for reaping. So are the teeming millions of Africa, India, Korea, China, and all heathendom. In South Africa a gray-haired, shriveled old black woman said in a class meeting, "My soul is a thing which I cannot fathom, but my heart is bleeding for God." The New Testament represents the Church as a reaper, not a sower; Christ is the sower. His spirit plants living germs of conviction in human hearts; and the Church is to follow, reaping where it has not sown; wherever it goes, the Spirit is there before it, preparing the hearts of men, and ripening the grain for harvest. O Church of Jesus, go to the youngest child, the most illiterate peasant, the most abandoned criminal, the foulest slums, the most benighted heathen, and expect to find readiness and ripeness. God is waiting and wondering, while the harvest spoils and goes to waste through our unbelief, procrastination, and sluggishness. Dr. Watkinson's preaching abounds in fresh and exquisite illustrations, and also in literary quotation and allusion: "What a faith we often discover in the possibilities of our nature, what an appetite for glory! Some years ago a poor woman died and was carried to her grave from a very lowly home, but her children issued a funeral card and put on it this startling passage: 'And a great sign was seen in heaven; a woman arrayed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars.' The exegete would, of course, ridicule this personal application of the passage, and declare that its magnificent symbols stand for some large cosmical truth; but at bottom the mourners were right, as was the mother of Zebedee's children when she coveted dazzling destinies for her sons. The children had a mighty faith in the possibilities of their mother—they felt that she was great enough to have the sun for her robe, the moon for her footstool, with Orion, Venus, Sirius, Arcturus, and Aldebaran for the stars of her forehead. The most magnificent things of the Apocalypse do not surprise us; we have an instinct for greatness. 'It doth not yet appear what we shall be.'" "During his last days Verlaine, the brilliant French poet, occupied himself with daubing the squalid furniture of his squalid rooms with gold paint. The poor fellow's reason was gone, and it pleased his disordered fancy to reckon the worthless furniture of his miserable lodging as the golden garniture of palaces. So the worldly mind, drugged with the opium of vanity and passion, looks upon base, vulgar, ugly, and ruinous things as altogether beautiful and precious. But Verlaine's yellow furniture would not sell for gold; and the day comes when those who have lived godless lives will awake to the vanity of those paltry and

gaudy things for which they gave and suffered so much." "Once that brilliant but vain and silly girl, Marie Bashkirtseff, wrote in her diary, 'It is the New Year. At the theater, precisely at midnight, watch in hand, I wished my wish in a single intoxicating word, *Fame!*'" "The saint walks by faith, not by sight. Look at Stephen. He is surrounded by an infuriated multitude. One would say that he saw only a persecuting mob But hearken, 'He, being full of the Holy Ghost, looked up steadfastly into heaven, and saw the glory of God and Jesus standing at the right hand of God.' To the carnal eye John at Patmos had for environment a gloomy island, a lonely sea, a few unfriendly soldiers; but John really knew little of all this, for a celestial universe unfolded above him, and his island was filled with strange music, peopled with angelic shapes, and blossoming with unwithering roses. To the carnal eye John Bunyan dwelt within the narrow walls of Bedford jail with only coarse and painful things to contemplate and suffer; but he dwelt in the Palace Beautiful, climbed the hill Beulah, heard golden trumpets, saw the city of gems and crystal lighted with the glory of God. To the carnal eye Charles Wesley at Devizes was the center of a tumultuous and threatening rabble; but listen to the hymn he sang, and you understand what was the environment of his soul:

> Lo! to faith's enlightened sight
> All the mountain flames with light;
> Hell is nigh, but God is nigher,
> Circling us with hosts of fire.

The uplifted soul lives in the heavenlies, hears angels sing, walks amid flowers, breathes an ampler air, tastes the power of the world to come." Somebody contended that Jesus was effeminate, and Wendell Phillips answered: "Look at the men who have learned of Him most closely—at Paul, and Luther, and Wesley. Were they effeminate? Yet these disciples were but faint reflections of their Master. The Character from which came the force which has been battling ever since with wrong and falsehood was nothing less than masculine. Sentiment is the toughest thing in the world—nothing else is iron." Preaching on Sanctification, Dr. Watkinson says: "Despite Renan, the glorious day comes when men will do bitter penance for having given their brother an angry look; when they will condemn their soul to the treadmill for having put the big strawberry on the top; when they will rather don the cast-off rags of the leper than wear purple stained with a workman's blood or a sempstress's tear; when the ledger, the ink pot, the plow, the loom, all vessels and tools of industry, all instruments of science shall be as the vessels of the altar." "J. A. Symonds said, 'One such discovery in the field of morals as Newton's law of gravitation would advance us ages forward.' But no such discovery remains to be made. When Paul exulted, 'The love of Christ constraineth us,'

he had made the grand discovery of which Symonds was blindly dreaming. The love of God in Christ is in morals what the law of gravitation is in nature."

Encyclopædia Biblica. A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political, and Religious History, the Archæology, Geography, and Natural History of the Bible. Edited by the Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford and formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Canon of Rochester, and J. SUTHERLAND BLACK, M.A., LL.D., formerly Assistant Editor of the *Encyclopædia Britannica.* Volume III, L to P, beginning with column 2689 and concluding with column 3988 (two columns on each page). New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $5. To be completed in four volumes.

We have already reviewed the first two volumes of this new Bible dictionary at considerable length (*Methodist Review*, March-April, 1902, pp. 318-323), and have there abundantly set forth our view of the work as a whole. There is therefore less need that we discuss the present volume at length, though some general observations and special notes upon separate articles may be of value. The chief editor's hand still continues to dominate everything in the third volume as it had done in the first two, and his rapid progress in more and more advanced criticism is perhaps even more evidenced. Instances of this astonishing progressiveness abound on every side. When Cheyne published his Bampton lectures on the Psalter in 1889 there were some who supposed that Cheyne could never go beyond the point reached therein, either in literary or textual criticism, but they little understood the ingenuity and the passion for novelty which possesses some great scholars. In every respect the latter part of this article on the book of Psalms goes far beyond the Bampton lectures. In the emendation, the subjective radical emendation, of the text Cheyne has so far outstripped all competitors that even Duhm seems conservative. Let us give a brief specimen of the result of his emendations, placing by the side of his translation of the same passage from the Revised Version (Psa. lxxii):

CHEYNE.	REVISED VERSION.
5 He shall crush the folk of Cusham, And destroy the race of Jerahmeel;	5 They shall fear thee while the sun endureth, And so long as the moon, throughout all generations.
6 He shall bring down Maacath and Amalek, Those of Rehoboth and of Zarephath.	6 He shall come down like rain upon the mown grass: As showers that water the earth.
9 Before him those of Cush shall bend the knee, The Arabians shall lick the dust;	9 They that dwell in the wilderness shall bow before him; And his enemies shall lick the dust.
10 The Ishmaelites shall bring gifts, Those of Sheba shall offer gold.	10 The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents: The kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts.

The reader may be puzzled to understand how it should be possible to change so completely the appearance of a well-known passage, and

needs perhaps to be reminded that all things are possible to a man who will deliberately rewrite the Hebrew text. Such extremes of conjectural emendation have never before been practiced by a Hebrew scholar, and we have no fear that they will ever meet with general acceptance among authorities upon the subject. The word Jerahmeel in verse 5 above leads us to speak briefly of the influences of an historical hypothesis upon Professor Cheyne's mind. Jerahmeel as the name of Caleb's brother occurs eight times in the received Hebrew text, and the word Jerahmeelites twice. Neither Jerahmeel nor the clan named for him is represented in the historical memories or traditions of the Hebrew people as playing any significant or important role. In some way, unknown to the present writer, Cheyne conceived a very high opinion of the Jerahmeelites. The article on Jerahmeel in volume ii of the *Encyclopædia* is by Stanley A. Cook, of Caius College, Cambridge, to which Cheyne has added a long paragraph beginning with these words: "If the suggestions made in this and certain other articles with regard to suspected corruptions of text in M T [Masoretic Text] and in G [Septuagint] are accepted, the Jerahmeelites were a much more important tribe or perhaps collection of tribes, than we have imagined. Under all sorts of disguises, it has been suspected, the name meets us again and again, both in narratives and in genealogies. . . . The following is a list, probably incomplete, of O. T. names which may have been corrupted from Jerahmeel." Here follows a list of fourteen names, such as Addar, Amalek, Carmel, Ram, Raham. The correction of these into Jerahmeel in some instances involves a positive rewriting of the history, without one shadow of a proof to support the conjecture, such, for example, as the making of Joash a Jerahmeelite. In the third volume the conjecture is carried still farther, as, for example, in the article on Prophetic Literature (col. 3897), where we are told that "The Jerahmeelite theory has also a special bearing on Isa. xxiv-xxvii, on the additions to the book of Micah, on Joel, on Obadiah, and on both parts of the composite book of Zachariah; also on the story of Jonah, and on the book of Jeremiah." This must be characterized as absurd because utterly unfounded. That way madness lies; it is the insanity of scholarship. The articles on the New Testament apparently grow more advanced with each succeeding volume of the *Encyclopædia*, and one wonders how the claim to be Christian in any sense of that historic word can be made for the direction of the work. Hermann Usener, the distinguished Bonn professor who has written the article on Nativity, brushes the age-long doctrine of the Church aside in these words: "It is possible to regard the divine begetting as a carrying back, in point of time, of the view of the baptism-miracle which we find in Luke. There is something entirely new, however, in addition—that he was conceived and born of a virgin. Here we unquestionably enter the circle of pagan ideas. Even the Church fathers were unable to shut their eyes to this. The

idea is quite foreign to Judaism, whilst for Græco-Roman antiquity it continued in full activity till after the Augustan age. . . . The efforts which have been made to disprove the unwelcome intrusion of heathen mythology into the substance of the gospels have been ineffectual." Among the contributors there appears a new name, Professor W. C. van Manen, of Leyden, who has written part of the article on Paul, and also the articles on Old Christian Literature, on the Epistles to Philemon and to the Philippians. As was to be expected he denies the Pauline authorship both of Philemon and of Philippians. This seems, however, a comparatively small matter when we read the following from the article on Paul (col. 3625): "With respect to the canonical Pauline epistles, the later criticism here under consideration has learned to recognize that they are none of them by Paul; neither fourteen, nor thirteen, nor nine or ten, nor seven or eight, nor yet even the four so long 'universally regarded as unassailable.' They are all, without distinction, pseudepigrapha (this, of course, not implying the least depreciation of their contents)." The gospels are gone, as volume ii assures us, and now the epistles disappear in volume iii. What, one may sadly ask, remains to be demolished in volume iv? It were well if the whole of this encyclopedia were as bad as its worst; then it could do little harm, for it would be cast out. But the volumes contain some articles of merit. We have only space to mention a few titles, with the author's name. First of all we name the long article on Palestine, written by the late lamented Professor Albert Socin, of Leipzig; H. H. W. Pearsons, of Kew Gardens; A. E. Shipley, of Christ's College, Cambridge; and W. Max Müller, of Philadelphia. The part written by Socin is worthy of his great reputation, and the long paragraph by Professor Müller is illuminating and valuable. The article on Phœnicia, by Professor Edward Meyer, of Halle, is long, able, and discriminating, and supplants everything else on the subject in English. Then there are remarkable articles on Moab by Professors G. A. Smith and T. K. Cheyne, and on Mesha by Professor Driver. The general estimate expressed in our previous notice of volumes i and ii is still held by us, and is confirmed and intensified by this latest volume. The *Encyclopædia Biblica* is revolutionary in theology and positively menacing in its attacks upon the very citadel of the faith. In many of its articles it uses learning recklessly or viciously, as if with a desire to undermine and overthrow the Christian religion. This mania for destruction will pass by, its methods will be discarded, its subjective criticism and conjectural history will be discredited, its skepticism will go into the limbo of abandoned fads. "If the permanency of Scripture itself is a marvel, no less marvelous is the romance of biblical criticism. We call it romance because there has been no theory too wild to be fastened on the Bible, no view too absurd to be connected with its chronicles. The rise and decline of romancing schools of criticism has been constant. Each claimed to have discovered a secret:

each prided itself on its scholarship; each claimed to be based on the latest discoveries; and lo! each passed away with all its positiveness and supposed erudition, while the Bible remains unharmed." The following familiar verses are in place here:

Last eve I paused beside a blacksmith's door,
And heard the anvil ring the vesper chime;
Then, looking in, I saw upon the floor
Old hammers worn with beating years of time.

"How many anvils have you had?" said I,
"To wear and batter all these hammers so?"
"Just one," said he; then said with twinkling eye,
"The anvil wears the hammers out, you know."

The Evangelization of the World in This Generation. By JOHN R. MOTT. 12mo, pp. 245. New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. Price, cloth, $1.

In all parts of Protestant Christendom there is to-day an unprecedented development of missionary zeal and activity among young men and young women, and the most marked manifestation of this ardent interest in the world-wide extension of Christ's kingdom is in schools and colleges. The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions took its rise at a conference of American and Canadian students in 1886, and now has an organized form in all Protestant countries. There are over fourteen hundred separate organizations, with a total membership of nearly sixty-five thousand students and professors. By this great movement thousands of students have been united in the sublime purpose of enthroning Christ as King among all nations and races of men, and the reality of their consecration is proved by the fact that during the past ten years over two thousand of them have gone out from North America and Europe, from the seminaries, colleges, and universities which educated them and fostered their sublime purpose, to work in non-Christian lands under the regular missionary societies of the Churches. Many educational institutions are becoming strongholds and propagating centers for aggressive Christianity. The watchword of this inspired and inspiring movement among students is the title of the sober, reasonable, stimulating, and thrilling book before us. This is the only watchword worthy of the Church or acceptable to the great Head of the Church, and that it has taken a powerful hold on educated youth, the coming leaders of thought, is convincingly shown in Mr. Mott's earnest and stirring pages. The fact is that pentecostal power has in the last fifteen years fallen upon Christian schools, spreading from institution to institution and from land to land, and filling the hearts of young men and women with a longing to make all nations of men hear the message of Pentecost, each in his own tongue, wherein he was born. All these student movements have arisen during the present generation.

The one thing lacking is the money to send out these student volunteers and sustain them in the foreign field. These consecrated young people cannot furnish that. They lay their lives on the altar of missions; the Churches must lay their money alongside these living sacrifices on the same altar, or the devotion of glowing young hearts will be frustrated in its purpose and denied its opportunity. The volunteers may then look reproachfully upon the Church which taught them *their* duty, but which now ignores or repudiates *its* duty, and they may say to its members in surprise and disappointment, "I would, but ye would not." That is what our Saviour has long been saying to a delinquent, apathetic, and disobedient Church. To proceed at once to evangelize the whole world is the divine commandment to all Christians. Archbishop Whately long ago said, "If our religion is *not* true we ought to *change* it; if it is true we are bound to propagate it." We are sinners needing forgiveness, and not saints worthy of acceptance, unless we are responding to the command of our Master, the Captain of Salvation, to preach His Gospel at once in all the ends of the earth. The Church is being educated to know its duty. The increasing diffusion of missionary literature is carrying enlightenment and awakening. A mighty quickening of spiritual life and power must come upon the Churches before they will rise to their vast and practicable opportunity. The missionary impulse, both for going and for giving, can be communicated and stimulated in the various young people's societies which have arisen within twenty years. In North America alone the Epworth League, the Society of Christian Endeavor, the Baptist Young People's Union, the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip, the Young People's Christian Union, the Westminster League, the Luther League, and kindred associations have nearly one hundred thousand local societies, and a total membership of fully five and a half millions—a great army, equal to the entire population of Canada or Holland or Sweden. If the members of these societies form the proper habits of giving, praying, and working for missions, there will soon be a great increase in the funds at command for supporting and extending foreign missions. The Sunday school is an undeveloped missionary resource. In 1900 the number of children in Protestant Sunday schools exceeded twenty-two millions. If they were trained to give an average of two cents a week per member, the result would be an amount greater than the total present contribution of Christendom to missionary work. Some churches are alive and full of pentecostal zeal. Rev. Hubert Brooke told in 1899 of a church in England having three hundred communicants which within a decade has had thirty-two of its members (more than one in ten) volunteer for foreign missionary service, of whom twenty have already gone to the field and others are being educated for it. The lives of great missionaries, more romantic and thrilling sometimes than any novel, should be put into Sunday school libraries. No student should be counted worthy of admission to the ministry

who has not acquired a world-wide horizon, and caught the real missionary spirit, which is simply the spirit of Christ. Every pastor should look upon his church as a force to be wielded for the evangelization of the world. Chairs of Missions should be established in theological seminaries, and filled only by men possessing both scientific attainments and a deep and fiery passion for world-evangelization. Mr. Mott's matter-of-fact book should be circulated among the members of the churches in the hope that they may adopt as their motto the watchword of the Student Volunteers, "The Evangelization of the World in This Generation." Many of the students testify what that motto has done for them. A graduate of Oxford University, England, writes: "The Watchword has, I think, been the strongest call to consecration that has ever come to me. It does not make upon us any demands which are not to be found in the love and requirements of Jesus Christ. But it presents the ideal in such definite and practical form as to recall us from supposing that we are what we might be or are doing what we ought to do. We cannot reflect upon it without being startled and shamed from our apathy." A recent graduate of Harvard writes: "The Watchword, 'The Evangelization of the World in This Generation,' has helped me to understand my own duty and that of the Church. In many ways it is like the divine command, 'Be ye perfect.' Once having heard its uncompromising imperative, one can never be satisfied with a narrower view of the work set for earnest men to do. It gathers into a sentence the duty of all the ages, bids us remember the uttermost as well as the nearest parts of the earth, and gives renewed zeal in view of the urgent need and immense opportunity it portrays." A Yale man writes: "This Watchword makes me feel myself a part of the great army of young missionaries who are working for a common end under a common Master. It lifts one out of a lack of expectation, leads us to expect and attempt great things, and helps us to lay hold on the reality of the plan and power of God." An Edinburgh medical graduate writes: "The Watchword has put into my life an urgency which was not there before. It has supplied a concrete aim which has been operative in thought and action. It has served as a valuable point of appeal to others—arousing attention, stimulating investigation and discussion, and impelling to prayer, and Bible study, and self-denial." In the spirit of the Student Volunteer movement, and at its call, some of the very flower of our educated youth have gone forth to evangelize the world. So went Cortland Van Rensselaer Hodge, of Princeton University, and Bonnie Sinclair, of Bryn Mawr College, to labor at Paoting-fu, and to die as martyrs at the hands of Chinese Boxers. So went, not long ago, from halls of Christian learning and a home of culture in New York city, the oldest son and the oldest daughter to mission work in China, leaving behind alluring possibilities and prospects here and all the dear associations of their fair young lives, counting everything as dross if they might win the prize of the high

calling of missionaries of Christ Jesus who loved them and gave himself for them. The only way in which the Church can prove itself worthy of such sons and daughters is by putting its money on the altar and furnishing funds to send the multitude of others like them who are ready and waiting.

Apostolic Optimism. By J. H. JOWETT, M.A. Crown 8vo, pp. 277. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The popularity of this volume of English sermons has run through three editions. It grips and holds. The title-sermon, from the text, "Rejoicing in Hope," finds the secret of Paul's incorrigible optimism in three things—in his sense of the reality of redemption, his wealthy consciousness of present resources, and his impressive sense of the reality of the future glory. Touching the last of these, this preacher thinks Baxter was sustained under pains, persecutions, and imprisonment, by such contemplations as he commended to others, thus: "Run familiarly through the streets of the heavenly Jerusalem; visit the patriarchs and prophets, salute the apostles, and admire the armies of martyrs; lead on the heart from street to street, bring it into the palace of the great King; lead it, as it were, from chamber to chamber. Say to it, 'Here must I lodge, here must I praise, here must I love and be loved. My tears will then be wiped away, my groans be turned to another tune, my cottage of clay be changed for this palace, my prison rags for these splendid robes, for the former things will be passed away.'" A good example of the apt use of Scripture for a purpose is in the sermon preached at the inauguration of the Wesleyan Twentieth Century Fund movement, from the text, "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? . . . Thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ! . . . Now concerning the collection." There is no incongruity, no jar in the transition from the shout of triumph to the taking of the collection. The use of spiritual joy is to fit us for duty and sacrifice. The fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians is the wide region of springs and fountains; the sixteenth opens with "the collection" which is the fertilizing stream which has been filled from the springs which rise among the high hills of the glorious Gospel of the happy God. The fountains of Christian benevolence lie in the cleft of the Rock of Ages, in the recesses of redeeming Love. The Resurrection stands to the collection as cause to effect. The cardinal weakness of Robert Elsmere was that he erased chapter fifteenth and began with chapter sixteenth. He denied the Resurrection and all the heartening truths which go with it; and out of the dry emptiness of negation he sought to educe a river of benevolent energy for the relief and enrichment of mankind. His mill wheel was without water power. He had gathered no head of water from the uplands of the supernatural truths of Christianity. Methodism's power has come from the lofty realities of atonement and resurrection. Metho-

dism's voluminous stream of religious activity was born in Aldersgate Street one evening when a man with an open and craving heart sat listening to the reading of Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. Now, watch the stream flow and enlarge. Mark a significant succession of dates. Wesley began his ministry in 1726, labored sixty-five years, and died in 1791. In 1792 the Baptist Missionary Society was founded; in 1795 the London Missionary Society; in 1799 the Church Missionary Society; five years later the British Bible Society. After John Wesley come John Howard, and Robert Raikes, and Thomas Clarkson, and Granville Sharp, and William Wilberforce, and William Carey. From the high hill-country of the Evangelical revival flowed this vast brimming river of beneficent and sacrificing energy. Begin with the collection and you have no momentum to carry you through. Preach on redemption and resurrection till the sense of victory surges in the soul and the shout of thanksgiving rises to the lips, and *then take the collection.* Leaving the other sermons, we notice an address delivered before the Free Church Congress at Cardiff, in March, 1901, on "The Secrets of Effective Preaching." Behind the one word "preacher" the New Testament has half a dozen original words, each with its own distinctive suggestion. According to those words, the preacher is a *Herald*, a public crier, a man with an imperial edict to be proclaimed; an *Evangelist*, with a message which is almost a song, the speech of a wooer, sweet with tenderness; a *Logician*, strenuously reasoning men to necessary conclusions and decisions; a *Conversationalist*, engaging in familiar fireside or wayside speech with his fellow-men. Such are the colors given to the office of a Preacher by the Greek original. The ideal minister of the Gospel is a royal ambassador, a tender wooer, an acute and cogent logician, and a sympathetic friend. So says Mr. Jowett, and then proceeds to suggest and amplify upon some elements necessary for efficient preaching: 1. A realization of the horrors of the bondage to sin from which we seek to deliver men. 2. A spirit of sensitive sympathy. 3. The wooing note. (On this he says: "Every great preacher is a wooer. Thunder and lightning may startle and terrify, but do not win. In the Old Testament we might expect the wooing not to be absent. Amos is severe in speech, stern in expostulation, multiplying denunciations; yet even Amos sometimes stops thundering and begins to woo. As for Hosea, he is a wooer from first to last. Isaiah, at the end of a chapter full of denunciation, softens into 'Comfort ye, comfort ye my people.' Not only in the Old Testament, but all through the Bible, is this tender wooing note." Mr. Jowett himself has resolved that his preaching shall have more of the constraining power of love enticing men by sweet persuasiveness. Jesus, Lover of my soul, I am lover of men's souls!) 4. The New Testament emphasis must be in our preaching. That emphasis is from the Cross of the Crucified Lord. The source of motive, the ground of certitude, the seat of

authority, are there, on Calvary where, above the red, wet, slippery rocks, One cries, "It is finished!" David Brainerd, speaking of his preaching among the Indians, said: "I never got away from Jesus, and Him crucified; and I found that when my people were gripped by this great evangelical doctrine of Christ I had no need to give them instructions about morality. One followed as the inevitable fruit of the other. My Indians begin to put on the garments of holiness, and their common life begins to be sanctified even in trifles when they are possessed by the doctrine of Christ crucified."

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Democracy and Social Ethics. By JANE ADDAMS. 12mo, pp. 281. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Jane Addams ranks with Florence Nightingale and Clara Barton in personal force and in self-sacrificing devotion to the mitigation of human misery, while in intellectual ability, culture, and equipment she is superior to both of them. Edwin D. Mead recently said at Lake Mohonk that "The rising generation ought to be taught that a gun is not the highest symbol of patriotism; that men and women like Jane Addams, Mayor Low, Dr. Hale, and others who are fighting the evils of political corruption, social injustice, intemperance, and civic wrong are as truly heroic and worthy of praise as those who do battle with gun and sword." Among the "others who are fighting" and have fought such evils, and have proved themselves brave, capable, incorruptible, and patient servants of human needs, should be named Theodore Roosevelt, Colonel Waring, Jacob Riis, Leonard Wood, Judge Taft, and Booker T. Washington. For more than twelve years Miss Addams has lived in Hull House, in one of the poorest wards of Chicago, holding her eyes, brain, conscience, and heart close against the facts which furnish the basis for the discussions of this book. She is no academic doctrinaire. A university professor, being asked by a stranger what his department was, answered, "It is my business to look as wise as possible from the chair of Political Economy." Jane Addams makes no effort to "look wise;" concerning the things of which she writes she simply *knows*, as a pilot knows the channels and the rocks and the harbor lights. A German critic with his Bible open at the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew calls us to notice that the one test which the most authoritative portrayal of the final Judgment offers is the social test. In that divine and dramatic portrayal the stern questions are, Did ye visit the poor, the criminal, and the sick, and did ye feed the hungry and clothe the naked? Few Christians can read the gospel by Matthew and face the Day of Judgment with so much composure as Jane Addams may safely feel. When she speaks on "Social Ethics," the wisest next to her is he who listens, for she speaks as one having authority, the authority of experience and first-hand knowledge, and not as the theorizing

preachers and professors. She knows and teaches us that "A standard of social ethics is not attained by traveling a sequestered byway, but by mixing on the thronged and common road where all must turn out for one another, and at least see the size of one another's burdens." She has that correct social perspective and sanity of judgment that come only from contact with social experience, which is the surest corrective of opinions concerning the social order and the only competent guide in efforts to improve that order. The spirit of Christ is in the new curiosity concerning human life and the desire to study social ills for the purpose of remedying them. Certain it is that the stress of moral obligation toward the poor, the disadvantaged, and the suffering pulls more and more upon the conscience of individuals and churches and softens the hearts of the well-to-do. The increasing recognition and acceptance of the claims of social obligation must result in conduct conformed thereto, and consequent amelioration of hard and unfair conditions. Miss Addams notes the increasing pressure of the demand for consistency in this pungent remark: "The moralist is rapidly becoming so sensitive that when his life does not exemplify his ethical convictions he finds it difficult to preach." The fact is illustrated that charity-workers among the poor often find themselves surpassed in certain heroic virtues by those whom they instruct and relieve—in the virtue of self-sacrifice, for example, "An Irish family in which the man has lost his place, and the woman is struggling to eke out the scanty savings by day's work, will take in a widow and her five children who have been turned into the street, without a moment's hesitation over the discomforts involved." A woman whose husband was in the city prison found herself penniless when the birth of her child approached, and went for refuge to a friend whom she supposed to be living in three rooms. The friend's husband being long out of work, they had been reduced to one room; yet the woman was taken in, although her friend's husband was thereby compelled to go out and sleep on a bench in the park every night, which he did uncomplainingly, thankful that it was summer and that it only rained one night. The young mother had no special claim on her friend, beyond their having worked together in the same factory when they were girls; and her friend's husband she had never seen before the night when her unlooked-for arrival drove him out of doors. Miss Addams shows that early marriage and child labor are problems not intelligently understood by people who come from professional and business circles. A professional man is scarcely equipped and started in his profession before he is thirty; a business man, if on the road to success, is much nearer prosperity at thirty-five than at twenty-five; and it is therefore wise for these men not to marry in the twenties. Not so with the workingman; in many trades he is laid upon the shelf at thirty-five, and in nearly all trades he receives the largest wages in his life between twenty and thirty. The sense

of prudence, the necessity for saving, can never come to a primitive, emotional man with the force of a conviction; but the necessity of providing for his little children is a powerful incentive. He naturally regards his children as his savings bank; he expects them to care for him when he gets old, and in some trades old age comes very early. A Jewish tailor was sent to the poorhouse, paralyzed beyond recovery at the age of thirty-five. Had his little boy of nine been a few years older the father might have been spared the bitterness of public charity; he was, in fact, better able to support a family when he was twenty than when he was thirty-five, for his wages had grown less as the years went on. Another tailor, a Socialist, supports a family consisting of himself, his wife, three children, and his two parents on eight dollars a week. He insists it would be criminal not to expend every penny of this amount for food and shelter, and he expects his children to care for him later. The economic pressure also accounts for putting children to work overyoung. When a hard-working father is expostulated with for taking his bright and promising daughter out of school and putting her into a factory he replies, "I have fed her for fourteen years, now she can help me pay my mortgage." Concerning the spiritual equipment and the right method for the effectual service of human needs through charitable effort, Miss Addams writes: "The Hebrew prophet made three requirements from those who would join the great onward-moving procession led by Jehovah. 'To love mercy' and at the same time 'to do justly' is the difficult task; to fulfill the first requirement alone is to fall into the error of indiscriminate giving with all its disastrous results; to fulfill the second solely is to obtain the stern policy of withholding, and it results in such a dreary lack of sympathy and understanding that the establishment of justice is impossible. The combination of the two can never be attained save as we fulfill also the third requirement—'to walk humbly with our God,' which may mean to walk for many dreary miles beside the lowliest of His creatures, not even in that peace of mind which the company of the humble is popularly supposed to afford, but rather with the pangs and throes to which the poor human understanding is subjected whenever it attempts to comprehend the meaning of life and to solve its problems." This wise book divides its general subject into "Charitable Effort," "Filial Relations," "Household Adjustment," "Industrial Amelioration," "Educational Methods," and "Political Reform," concerning all of which it testifies things which its author sees and knows.

Music in the History of the Western Church. By EDWARD DICKINSON, Professor of the History of Music in the Conservatory of Music, Oberlin College. Crown 8vo, pp. 426. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.50.

"Song has proved such a universal necessity in worship that it may almost be said, No music no Church," says this valuable volume, which shows how "music, in issuing from the bosom of the Church, has been molded under the influence of varying ideals of

devotion, liturgic usages, national temperaments, and types and methods of expression;" setting forth impressively the grandeur and beauty of ecclesiastical music and its vital relation to organized worship. The first chapter, on "Primitive and Ancient Religious Music," begins by quoting the words with which Leon Gautier ascribes the primitive poetic utterance of mankind to a religious impulse: "Represent to yourselves the first man when he issues from the hand of God. Imagine the exceeding vividness of his impressions when the magnificence of the world is reflected in the mirror of his soul. Intoxicated with admiration, gratitude, and love, he raises his eyes to heaven, not satisfied with the spectacle of the earth; and then, discovering God in the heavens and attributing to him all the magnificence of the harmonious creation, he opens his mouth, the first stammerings of speech escape his lips, he speaks—ah! no, he sings!—and the first song of the lord of creation will be a hymn to God, the Creator." The author says that scientific research among the origins finds that the earliest attempts at song were occasioned by motives which must be called religious. The chapters deal with "Ritual and Song in the Early Christian Church," "Liturgy of the Catholic Church," "Ritual Chants," "Mediæval Chorus Music," "Modern Musical Mass," "Rise of Lutheran Hymnody," "The German Cantata and Passion," "Culmination of German Protestant Music," "Musical System of the Church of England," "Congregational Song in England and America," "Problems of Church Music in America." Writing of one great epoch of the Christian Church, Professor Dickinson says: "In the eighteenth century the psalmody of the Presbyterians, Independents, and Separatists, which had also been adopted long before in the parochial services of the Established Church, declined into the most contracted and unemotional routine that can be found in the history of religious song. The practice of 'lining out' the hymn destroyed every vestige of musical charm that might otherwise have remained; the number of tunes in common use grew less and less, in some congregations being reduced to a bare half dozen. The notion extensively prevailed that every person was privileged to sing the melody in any key or tempo and with any grotesque embellishment that might be pleasing to himself. These fantastic abuses especially prevailed in the New England congregations in the latter half of the seventeenth and the earlier half of the eighteenth centuries, but they were only the ultimate consequences of ideas and practices which prevailed in the mother country. The early Baptists forbade singing altogether. The Brownists tried for a time to act upon the notion that singing in worship should be extempore, like prayer; the practical results of which can better be imagined than described. About the year 1700 it seemed as though the fair genius of sacred song had abandoned the English and American nonliturgic communions in despair. Then like a sunburst, opening a brighter era, came the Wesleyan movement with its hymns. Whatever effect the exuberant singing of the Methodist assemblies

may have had upon cultivated ears, it is certain that the enthusiastic welcome accorded by the Wesleys to popular music gave impulse to a purer and nobler style of congregational song, which has never been lost. The sweet and fervent lyrics of Charles and John Wesley struck a staggering blow at the prestige of the 'inspired' psalmody. When the work of the Wesleys and Whitefield began, hymns heartily sung by a whole congregation were unknown as an element in public worship. Watts's hymns were already written, but had taken no hold upon either dissenters or churchmen. The example of the Methodists was a revelation of the power that lies in popular song when inspired by conviction, and as was said of the early Lutheran choral, so it might be said of the Methodist hymns, that they won more souls than even the preaching of the evangelists. John Wesley, in his published directions concerning congregational singing, enjoined accuracy in notes and time, heartiness, moderation, unanimity, and spirituality. He strove to bring the new hymns and tunes within the means of the poor, and yet took pains that the music should be of high quality, and that nothing vulgar or sensational should obtain currency. The truly beneficent achievement of the Wesleys in summoning the aid of the unconfined spirit of poesy in the revival of spiritual life found a worthy reinforcement in the hymns of Isaac Watts. . . . From the impulse thus imparted came the movement which has enriched our modern hymn books and sacred anthologies. Anybody who chooses may expand and elevate his spiritual nature by possessing his mind of the jewels of devotional insight and expression scattered through the writings of such poets as the Wesleys, Cowper, Newton, Faber, Newman, Lyte, Heber, Bonar, Milman, Keble, Ellerton, Montgomery, Ray Palmer, Coxe, Whittier, Holmes, the Cary sisters, and others hardly inferior to these, who have rendered immortal service to the divine cause by disclosing to the world the infinite beauty and consolation of the Christian faith. No other nation, not even the German, can show any parallel to the treasure imbedded in English and American popular religious poetry." The most admirable account of the development of modern hymnology is by Horder in his delightful book, *The Hymn Lover* (London, Curwen, 1889). The Council of Carthage in the fourth century laid upon church singers this injunction, which is good for us all: "See that what thou singest with thy lips thou believest in thy heart, and that what thou believest in thy heart thou dost exemplify in thy life." A bibliography and index complete Professor Dickinson's excellent, well-written, and interesting volume.

Poems of the Past and the Present. By THOMAS HARDY. Crown 8vo, pp. 260. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.60.

"Poetry," says the London *Spectator*, "is not Mr. Hardy's proper medium. He is not at home, he does not move easily in it. Dante defined poetry as 'fiction set to music.' Thomas Hardy is a master

of fiction, but not of music. His poetry is often harsh and rough, uncouth and uncanny." He voices the *Weltschmertz*. He drapes the world in Schopenhauer-black. He says men cannot be merry any longer; that even youth is not now able to "revel in the general situation," as all men used to do. He bids us face a grim, unmoral and sinister universe. He tries to help Huxley strip off "the garment of make-believe by which pious hands have hidden the uglier features of the world." His landscapes are dreary and forlorn; the beauties of nature have little charm for him; he remarks that with the saddening of life men have turned more and more from mere gardens and green meadows, and have sought wild, rugged scenes, and he predicts that in days to come they may turn even from the barren coasts of the sea and from bleak mountains to seek stretches of absolute desolation, forbidding, featureless, dead, as the only kind of scene in harmony with their mood. Of what profit are civilization and modern culture if this is what they bring men to? The barbarian and the pagan have glimpses of a world which is less forlorn. Our pampered favorites of fortune, irritable and peevish, crying out on life and the world because not upholstered at all points to suit their luxurious tastes, lack virility, sanity, and moral decency. In *Dover Beach* we hear Matthew Arnold wailing at fate, as one has said, "from no stress of misfortune, but quite *a propos de bottes* and on general principles." In certain circles hysterical gentlemen who were not consulted in the building of the universe rail bitterly at the general situation, and grow blasphemous enough to put in print their demand that God shall ask man's pardon for having made him as he is and for having put him in such a world. We feel toward such gentlemen as the men of the club did toward Aurelian McGoggin when they threw sofa-cushions at him and told him to go to any particular place he might happen to believe in. Frankly, we do not like poets or prosers who serve us wormwood as a beverage, any more than we like a cook who habitually breaks the gall-duct in poultry. We have no thirst which can be slaked by a stream of melancholy language, whether it flows rhythmically or roughly. We cannot thank men who teach that this world is blot or blank, and life but mire and mold. Not all of Hardy's poetry has been of this sort, however, and less of it in this volume than in *Wessex Poems*. Here there is more variety and some sense, as witness the poem at this moment before us, in which "The Respectable Burgher," after hearing and reading of the doubts which Reverend Doctors cast upon the Bible narratives, comes to this decision:

> All churchgoing will I forswear,
> And sit on Sundays in my chair,
> And read that moderate man Voltaire.

In "A Christmas Ghost-story" the puzzled phantom of a soldier killed in the British-Boer war moans thus on the South African night-breeze on Christmas Eve:

I would know
By whom and when the All-Earth-gladdening Law
Of Peace, brought in by that Man Crucified,
Was ruled to be inept, and set aside?
And what of logic or of truth appears
In tacking "Anno Domini" to the years?
Near twenty hundred liveried thus have hied,
But tarries yet the Cause for which He died.

In the lines "On an Invitation to the United States" Hardy seems to say that he has lost the heart for travel, that, "since Life has bared its bones" to him, he is too spiritless to care to visit these new regions which have the advantage, he says, of being "free from that long drip of human tears which peoples old in tragedy have left upon the centuried years." In "A Commonplace Day," at the end of "the dullest of dull-hued days," during the whole of which he has not wrought, nor pondered, nor planned anything worthy, and his thoughts have been colorless as the rain that slid down the window pane, he reflects that in this gloomy day

It may be, in some soul,
In some spot undiscerned on sea or land, some impulse rose,
Or some intent upstole
Of that enkindling ardency from whose maturer glows
The world's amendment flows.

Perhaps the nearest approach to an utterance of faith is in the last verse of the last poem, "To the Unknown God," which says in substance that when he sees the self-destructive tendency which evil manifests, when he discerns, "in unwonted purlieus, far or nigh, at whiles or short or long," a wrong dying as of self-slaughter, he feels moved to raise his voice in song with a joy that borders on praise, and lifts an almost trustful look toward the Power that makes for Righteousness. Once in the verses "On a Fine Morning" he consents to regard the day as "nothing other than part of a benignant plan, proof that earth was made for man." In another poem "The Bedridden Peasant" reasons that if God knew how men suffer down here He surely would heal their ills and not let them go on agonizing; and concludes that the reason why He does not put an end to misery is that He does not know about it: which is like John Stuart Mill's idea of a good God who lacks omnipotence.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

George Whitefield, M.A., Field-Preacher. By JAMES PATERSON GLEDSTONE. Crown 8vo, pp. 359. New York: American Tract Society. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Whitefield considered himself especially called to field-preaching, and said, "In this I am carried as on eagle's wings; God makes way for me everywhere." The record for one month is, "He preached to

ten thousand persons every day for twenty-eight days." His preaching drew vast congregations even in thinly populated regions, as at Haworth on the Yorkshire moors, at the Scotch village of Cambuslang, and in the backwoods of America; of the last he said, "I am hunting poor sinners in these ungospelized wilds." If he did not inaugurate large social or political reforms, neither did St. Paul procure the franchise for the Roman Christians. Make new men and they will make the new State. Personal conversions reform society. To get a man a new home is good; a new heart is better, and it is likely to make the new home. The evangelist prepares material for the Christian statesman to build with. At Oxford Whitefield joined the Holy Club, of which John Wesley was leader, adopting its austere life and sharing the ridicule and persecution visited upon it. On the day of his ordination to the ministry by Bishop Benson, he said, "I hope the good of souls will be my only principle of action;" his life fulfilled that hope. Yet was he often tempted like other men, and learned some lessons painfully. Out of college and into work among poor and illiterate people, he sorely missed his Oxford associates, and "mourned for them like a dove." By prayer and persistence he overcame his unholy aversion to the unlovely rustics, and found their conversation honest, artless, fresh, instructive, and stimulating; so that he often learned as much from them in an afternoon as in a week's private study. Wesley, writing from America to induce Whitefield to join him there, said, "Do you ask me what reward you shall have? Food to eat and raiment to wear, a house to lay your head in such as your Master had not, and a crown of glory that fadeth not away." Before Howard began his work in the jails the temporal and spiritual wants of prisoners moved the sympathies of Whitefield and the Wesleys. The first band of Methodists had a special fund for the convicts in Oxford jail. The author of the *Life and Adventures of Oliver Goldsmith* imagines that the character called Dr. Primrose first suggested and inspired prison philanthropy; but it is more probable that Goldsmith got the idea from the Methodists who had been already at work in prisons some thirty years. Of metaphorical interpreters of Scripture Whitefield said, "It will be well if they do not interpret themselves out of their salvation." The sound and practical character of Methodist preaching from the beginning appears in Whitefield's sermon on Regeneration: "The sum of the matter is this: Christianity includes morality as grace includes reason—a universal morality founded upon the love of God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. . . . The only Methodism I desire to know is a holy method of dying to ourselves and of living to God." Mr. Wesley had not much satisfaction in looking back upon his ministry in Georgia, but Whitefield wrote at Savannah: "The good that John Wesley has done in America, under God, is inexpressible. His name is very precious among the people, and he has laid such a foundation that I hope neither men nor devils will ever be able to shake. Surely I must labor more

heartily, since I come after such worthy predecessors." It was Whitefield's way to love strangers, and labor for them, as if he had known them always; in that he was a typical Methodist preacher. The overpowering emotions which shook and melted his audiences were the answer to his own passionate feelings, and the abandon of his quenchless love. Seldom could he go through a sermon without weeping himself, and moving the people to tears. His impassioned love struck the hearts of rough men, who, after being long uncared for, at last saw a clergyman willing to undergo fatigue and shame for their sakes. He faced crowds in which were hundreds bent on committing violence or making sport, and, seeing them to be men made in the image of God and redeemed by the Saviour, he summoned them to high privileges, laid on them their solemn responsibilities, pleaded with them as with a mother's love and tears, opened heaven and hell to their view, and called on them to forsake sin and come to God for pardon and eternal life. And the roughs were transformed into saints. Mr. Wesley once wrote in his journal: "I went with Mr. Whitefield to Blackheath, where was a crowd of twelve or fourteen thousand people. I preached on my favorite subject, 'Jesus Christ, who of God is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.' I was greatly moved with compassion for the rich that were there, to whom I made a particular application. Some of them seemed to attend, while others drove away in their coaches." The evangelical revival addressed and reached both rich and poor. In Philadelphia Benjamin Franklin was one of Whitefield's constant hearers. Usually calm and self-controlled, he caught fire under the great preacher's glowing words. One night, when the preaching was near Franklin's shop, the author of *Poor Richard's Almanac* says: "Having curiosity to know how far he could be heard, I retired down the street toward the river, and heard distinctly till I came near Front Street. Imagining a circle of which my distance was the radius, and allowing two square feet to each auditor, I computed that he might be heard by more than thirty thousand." When Whitefield preached at Birstall, England, persons on Staincliffe Hill, a mile and a half away, heard him cry, "O earth, earth, hear the Word of the Lord!" Franklin was amazed at the effects of Whitefield's preaching, and at the admiration and respect felt for him even by hearers who heard themselves described as half beasts and half devils. He was amazed also at the change effected in the mood and manners of the population; instead of indifference or ridicule toward religion, it seemed as if all the world were growing religious, so that walking through the town any evening one heard the sound of psalms and hymns from many houses on every street. The disagreements between Wesley and Whitefield were partly due to temperament. Whitefield complained of Wesley's silence and reserve. To Whitefield friendship and brotherliness meant to "walk with naked hearts together," and his patience was taxed by the cooler temperament of his friend. Mr. Gledstone says

that Wesley's silence was often a sign of his unwillingness to dispute and his desire to preserve peace; but Whitefield's more ardent and impulsive nature could not understand such extraordinary self-possession. In their contention over their divergent views Whitefield wrote to Wesley: "I am sorry, honored Sir, to hear that you own a sinless perfection in this life attainable. I cannot answer you better than a venerable old minister answered a Quaker: 'Bring me a man that hath really attained to this, and I will pay his expenses no matter how far he comes.' . . . You run into many absurdities by not owning election, because you cannot own it without believing in reprobation. But what is there so horrid in reprobation? I see no blasphemy in holding that doctrine, if rightly explained. If God might have passed by all He may pass by some. . . . O that you were truly convinced of sin and brought to the foot of sovereign grace!" In another letter Whitefield talks to Wesley in this fatherly fashion: "Take heed; beware of a false peace; strive to enter in at the strait gate, and give all diligence to make your calling and election sure. [But how could Wesley make it surer, if it were already eternally decreed?] Remember you are but a babe in Christ, if so much. Be humble, talk little, think and pray much. If you must dispute, wait till you are master of the subject." In Boston a famous divine, prejudiced against Whitefield, met him in the street soon after the evangelist's arrival, and said, "I am sorry to see you here." "So is the devil," answered Whitefield, and passed on. He preached to the Harvard students in language which he himself afterward publicly confessed to have been harsh and uncharitable. Mr. Gledstone, our biographer, commenting on this, says: "Whitefield fell into this mistake through being guided too much by hearsay; and there are always plenty of alarmists who can find nothing but heresy in tutors and professors, and nothing but worldliness in students." This biographer sums up the case in the quarrel of the two great evangelical leaders thus: "Wesley was wrong (1) in attacking Whitefield's views at the taunt of an anonymous enemy; he struck the first blow and without sufficient cause; (2) in publishing his sermon because of a decision made by drawing a lot; (3) in using irritating language to his opponent. Whitefield was wrong (1) in yielding his mind to inflaming representations sent to him from England; (2) in making public private deeds and expressions of opinion; (3) in preaching his peculiar views in the chapel of the Wesleys, where he knew they would be offensive." In time the breach was healed, so that John Wesley could write: "Whitefield and my brother and I are one—a threefold cord which never can be broken." When Whitefield was preaching at Princeton, N. J., some of his hearers went to sleep. He paused, brought his hand and foot down with terrific force, and cried to the startled sleepers: "I have waked you up, have I? I am not here to preach to stocks and stones. I have come to you in the name of the Lord of Hosts, and I will be heard." One night when he and a friend slept at a village

inn their room was next to one in which gamblers were carousing, and their foul language so distressed him that he felt compelled to rebuke them. His friend vainly tried to dissuade him. He went and spoke to them, but apparently without effect. When he returned and lay down again his friend said, "Well, what did you gain by it?" "A soft pillow," he answered, and soon fell asleep. A weak-minded brother criticised Whitefield's scrupulous neatness of dress, and received this answer: "I myself once thought that Christianity required me to go nasty. I neglected my appearance as much as you could desire. But when God gave me the spirit of adoption I then dressed decently; and I am convinced that the Lord would have me act as I now do." This biography of Whitefield is not quite just to Wesley in all points, and its literary style is not of the best; yet is it an interesting and readable book.

The Beginnings of Poetry. By FRANCIS B. GUMMERE. 8vo, pp. 483. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $3.

Dr. Johnson said, "It is well to see great works in their seminal state, and to trace their gradual growth and expansion." The particular subject of this volume is the rise of poetry as a social institution, and as an element in human life. Plato saw no room for poets in his ideal state. The Koran books verse-making persons for an unpleasant future. Sir Isaac Newton thought with Barrow that poetry is a kind of ingenious nonsense. Renan prophesied that poetry will be swallowed up by science. Some say that Goethe, if he had been born a century later, would have thrown poetry to the winds and devoted himself to science; and that Shakespeare, if living now, would abjure poetic wings and settle to the collar with psychical research folk and societies for child-study. But though poetry very early formed the habit of looking back to better days, yet in all ages kings have been its nursing fathers and queens its nursing mothers, while the great common heart of humanity has furnished its elemental emotions and risen to its call. Shelley regarded poetry as the art which "redeems from decay the visitations of the divinity in man." As for the future, M. Guyau, a man of scientific instincts and training, says temperately and fairly that "poetry will continue to be the natural language of all great and lasting emotion." In this age of the scientific study of origins Professor Gummere's researches into the earliest actual appearances of poetry as an element in the social life of mankind are a distinct and interesting contribution to that catechism which the modern man is making about all the beginnings and growths of his life, constructing a comprehensive anthropology. Taine and Brunetière both make a study of poetry as a product of sociological and ethnological conditions; and the volume before us pursues the same subject. Poetry is a social fact. Herder cried out, "Read Homer as if he were singing in the streets." The sources of poetry may be studied sometimes in survivals of primitive rites. Our author says:

"At seedtime in Brandenburg the women still go into the fields and unbind their hair in sign of their wish, if not prayer, that the flax may grow as long as their tresses. With such a ritual act goes nearly always a song, a repeated shout, a cry to the powers of growth; and this is poetry in the making, probably taking on the words, 'Make this flax like our hair!'" Frederic Harrison characterizes certain sublime passages in Job and Isaiah as poetry, and another asks if the English Bible is not as noble poetry as can be found. But our author says that the English Bible is not the masterpiece of all poetry but of all prose, the English tongue at its greatest and best; beating not only with the mighty pulse of its divine source and meaning, but also with that immense vitality and energy of English religious life in days when to many Englishmen life and religion were identical. The Bible is sublime, but it is not poetry except where rhythm makes it so. That tremendous reach of emotion borne on the cadence of a style majestic and clear, the voice of a solitary desolation crying to the desolation of all mankind, the wail of an eternal and unanswered question, "Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery, and life unto the bitter in soul?"—this is a poem in the original, and might also be in English, provided the rhythm of the lines had a recurrent regularity; otherwise it is prose. As great literature, the book of Job is on or above the highest levels of Dante and Milton and Goethe, but it is not poetry. When Longinus puts Moses and Thucydides and Homer on one level of sublimity he does not put them all into the category of poetry. "A line that stirs the heart is poetry when it belongs in a rhythmic whole, and is prose when it does not." Prose is language on foot, poetry is winged utterance; yet prose resembles poetry when its bosom heaves; its pulse beats with rhythmic regularity. Herder claims that poetry is a spring of water from the great common heart of community or nation, no matter whether Moses, Homer, or Shakespeare deals the unsealing blow which opens the living rock, or whether the waters gush of their own force, poetry bursting as by miracle out of a whole people into an "Iliad," a "Nibelungen Lay," a "Beowulf." On page 143 is that fine comparison found in one of Victor Hugo's *Chants du Crépuscule*, where the poet, alone in an old tower, addresses the bell, which hangs there, its original pious inscription insulted by the sillinesses, blasphemies, and obscenities subsequently written over it; yet which, when it rings the call to prayer, compels even the desecrated parts of its surface to share in the sacred vibration and sonority. And the poet says that bell is an emblem of his own soul upon which the world has written base and irreverent inscriptions; yet, like the bell, his soul breaks into harmonies, which even the defiled and desecrated portions of his nature are forced to feel and share, whenever a touch of the Divine, a stroke of the Holy Spirit, visits him from above. Our author describes the sonnet as "that apartment for a single gentleman in verse." Speak-

ing of the early appearance of the ballad as a form of poetry and of its natural freshness, he writes: "The ballad is no foul and spent stream that has turned mill wheels, run through barnyards, and at last found its way to a ditch; it is wild water and not far from its source in the mountains. One proof lies in the drinking of it. Ballads still hold their own as the nearest approach to primitive poetry preserved among civilized nations; after all discussions, the ballad remains in its old position at the gates of every national literature." Speaking of lays and epics, Professor Earle says that their natural characteristic is "a voluble and rambling loquacity," a phrase which describes a characteristic of some preachers, as does also Ten Brink's description of the repetition and doubling in German epic which often "spends a deal of movement without getting from the spot." Of a recent sermon a hearer said, "The preacher started from nowhere and arrived nowhere." Kipling's *Recessional* is spoken of here as poetry of a high order; and it is remarked that in his verse verbs have much to do, substantives less, and adjectives almost nothing. It is said that the war song of to-day has a hollow and unreal ring. "Even Tennyson's 'Light Brigade' somehow gives the effect of armor which is laced with bonnet strings." Brunetière calls Rousseau "the most eloquent of lackeys." Considering how little we really know about primitive man, a great deal has been made of him. The child and the savage of to-day have been studied as the type of him; which method is a snare and a delusion, wholly unscientific. By such methods Max Müller converted the primitive Aryan into a fellow of the most fanciful habit of mind, rapt into ecstasies at sunset, and stars, and vanishing dewdrops, or into a resolute Lear bent on knowing the cause of thunder. The interpretation of myths is another industry in which imagination wears the garb and mien of science. A professor in a German university, after giving all the myths about a certain divinity, said: "Gentlemen, this goddess is either a star or the early summer grass, I am not certain which. I am studying the matter carefully and hope soon to reach a positive conclusion." Such is the tone and air of solemn scientific or historic certainty heard and seen in many audacious speculators who try to palm off valiant guesses for sure knowledge. Our author says that when Ibsen wishes to touch the quick of things he does well to discard verse and use the prose of common conversation, thus bringing us to a sense of the pathos of bare and actual life—very actual and very bare. Pathos all these prose triumphs show, and pathological is the word for them. They belong to surgery, and are of the nature of a clinic. Poetry, recoiling from bare and actual life, has a different function. When one says that the poetry has gone out of one's life, one means that something very like Ibsen has come in, that one can no longer idealize and glorify life and can see in it only its flatness, dullness, bareness, and sordidness. When the enterprising scholar is constructing "primitive man" by the creative

power of imagination he can of course grant to him or withhold from him whatever traits he chooses. Thus Norden denies to "primitive man" the lyric propensity, the instinctive, spontaneous, uncalculating cry of the heart, and absurdly suggests that the prayer of early man was not a lyrical outburst, not an outpouring of pure emotion, but rather a business proposition, the seeking of a bargain with Deity, so much for so much—a shrewd, calculating, selfish, rationalism, rather than a heart-born emotional appeal, a thanksgiving, or deprecation, or supplication. Professor Gummere has made much of his subject, as this notice, we trust, indicates.

Gipsy Smith: His Life and Work. By HIMSELF. With Introductions by G. CAMPBELL MORGAN and ALEXANDER MCLAREN, D.D. New York, Chicago, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company. 8vo, pp. 330. Price, $1.50.

Viewed in almost any aspect this is a charming, and we may also say a valuable, book. Who does not feel an interest in the gypsies—those parasites upon modern civilization, a mysterious people sprung from nobody knows who, going where they please, camping upon anybody's land without leave or license, observing their own laws, speaking their own language, continuing their own customs, in the face of the world? One can learn more about the gypsies in this book than in any other that we have seen, not excepting even those classical stories of a generation ago by George Barrow. This autobiographer tells us, for example, how he was once the guest of the then Prince of Wales, now his majesty Edward VII, when without invitation his father set up his tents on the grounds at Sandringham! Then, too, the story told is one almost hard to believe, of a boy born in a gypsy wagon, who never sat at a table or slept in a bed or wore a starched shirt until nearly seventeen years old (he did not add a necktie until a number of years after, as his photographs show); who began to preach before he could read his Bible with any readiness, yet instantly stepped into prominence and power; while a youth held together for four years in one city a congregation of nearly four thousand people; and for fifteen years has maintained a place as a successful evangelist in the largest churches of England and America. The book is brimful of incidents which will make it a mine of illustration to preachers. It is charmingly candid—shall we say delightfully egotistical?—yet a vein of genuine humility runs through its pages. We hope that all he says of the Methodist Episcopal Church is true; but either he kissed the blarney-stone before he visited our shores, or else he saw American Methodism at its best, and through golden spectacles; for in these times of doleful talk about "the decline of Methodism" his praise of our Church—its fervency, its popular quality, its sociableness, and its remarkable prayer meeting attendance—is certainly delightful to read.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Naturalness of Christian Life. By EDWARD EVERETT KEEDY. 16mo, pp. 204. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, $1.25.

It is the aim in this book—a series of chapters which seem like successive discourses—to show that the highest Christian life is the normal life of right-minded man; that the standards of the New Testament are simply the principles by which any noble soul must live of its own accord; and that experience, reason, and Scripture lead independently to the same goal of righteousness. Before each chapter its line of thought is illustrated in an analogue or parable about "Ben Adhan," a king's son who has lost his kingliness, would find it again, and regains it by natural laws of upbuilding character.

Russia and the Russians. By EDWARD NOBLE. 12mo, pp. 285. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, $1.50.

We are living in an age of world-wide international relations; and we suddenly find that owing to a change in the political axis of the earth we are no longer on the rim, but in the center. We must become acquainted with our neighbors; and one of our neighbors is that "half-moon on the earth's surface," the Russian empire, hitherto an almost unknown world. Here is a book which will give to the nonprofessional reader all that he needs to know concerning Russia and its people. The author lived years in that land, and has read deeply in its literature, so that his knowledge is at original sources. He tells us, in readable style, of the many races that became one people; of the dukedom that developed into a world-empire; of a civilization cultured at the top but barbaric at its base; of a government which from a loose federation of self-governing states has become the most absolute autocracy on the earth; of a mediæval state-Church in the twentieth century, and of strange sects upon its borders; of the curious condition of politics which makes almost every thinking man a conspirator; of a literature late but glorious in its efflorescence; and finally he gives a semiprophetic forecast of what may be looked for in the Russia of the future. One useful section in this book is its complete index, a feature always worthy of commendation.

Religions of Bible Lands. By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, M.A., Laudian Professor of Arabic, Oxford. [Christian Study Manuals. Edited by the Rev. R. E. WELSH, M.A.] 16mo, pp. 131. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, 60 cents.

Some such work as this has been needed by many Bible readers, who find constant allusions to forms of idol-worship practiced by the nations in contact with Israel. Without dwelling upon unnecessary details, the author of this little volume has given all the prominent facts and philosophy of the religions held by the Semitic races, the Egyptians, and the Persians. Their points of contact with the Hebrew faith are noted; but their lines of divergence are far more manifest; and the exalted character of the Hebrew faith stands in strong contrast with the dreams of polytheism.

METHODIST REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1902.

ART. I.—WAS THE RELIGION IN ABRAHAM'S NATIVE COUNTRY MONOTHEISTIC?

SOME scholars have very recently brought forward the surprising thesis that Abraham brought monotheism with him from his native country. Two of these scholars followed essentially the same method in their investigations; they are F. Hommel and Friedrich Delitzsch. The former advanced the thesis in his book, *Die altisraelitische Ueberlieferung in inschriftlicher Beleuchtung* (1897), p. 117, and the latter in his pamphlet, *Babel und Bibel* (1902), p. 44f. It is true, the two fix somewhat differently the circle from which Abraham is said to have come forth. Hommel considers the tribe from which arose the Babylonian ruler Hammurabi as belonging to the southeastern Arabians, and in this he seems to me to be in the right. Delitzsch, on the other hand, calls the tribe out of which Hammurabi and Abraham are alleged to have arisen Canaanitish. This assertion, as far as Hammurabi is concerned, is very hazardous; while in regard to Abraham it is incorrect, for, to mention but one fact speaking against it, we read with reference to the immigration of Abraham into his new home these words: "And the Canaanite was then in the land" (Gen. xii, 6). Here the Canaanite and Abraham are distinguished most explicitly, and there is no ground for the assumption that the historical consciousness of the Hebrews erred in this point. But, while Delitzsch and Hommel disagree on the secondary point mentioned, they do agree in the position that there was a *monotheistic* religion in the dis-

trict to which both assign Hammurabi and Abraham. How did they arrive at this conclusion?

Hommel acknowledges, expressly, that the southeastern Arabians, from whom, in his opinion, Hammurabi and Abraham came forth, worshiped many gods (*Die altisraelitische Ueberlieferung,* p. 80). He even remarks that among these Sabæans and Minæans the god Athtar was worshiped in temples in many different localities. By the side of him the god Almâku-hû occupied the most prominent place. Worship was rendered also to the sun. Besides these there were a number of inferior deities. But many names among these southeastern Arabians are compounded with the word *ilu* (that is, *il* and the old Semitic nominative ending *u*), "God;" for example, Jasma'-ilu. Hommel thinks that he may translate this name "God hears," but the name must have the sense of "*a* god hears;" for among notorious polytheists, such as the Sabæans and Minæans were, existed the possibility that a father might pray to any one of the gods to bless the child concerned.

Delitzsch, moreover, proceeds from the assumption that the word *ilu,* which sounds in the Hebrew *ēl,* and which means "god," had originally the meaning "goal, aim." The same suggestion was made at one time by Paul de Lagarde in his book, *Uebersicht ueber die im Aramæischen, Hebræischen, und Arabischen uebliche Bildung der Nomina* (1889), pp. 159, 162, 170. He stated there that *ēl* designated primarily "attainment, acquisition, reach, or goal." This assertion of De Lagarde, however, is utterly untenable, for the assumption that one and the same word came to be, on the one hand, the preposition "to," and on the other the designation of "god," is in no wise probable. Convincing reasons, therefore, would have to be brought forward before one could assent to this suggestion. Such reasons are absent; yea, there are most weighty counter-arguments; for, 1. The Assyrian language has no verb from which could possibly be derived a noun *ilu* meaning "goal." 2. In the Hebrew Old Testament there occurs five times a

phrase in which the word *ēl* is undoubtedly equivalent to "might," or "power," namely, *jesh l^e'ēl jādî*, or similar expressions (Gen. xxxi, 29; Deut. xxviii, 32; Mic. ii, 1; Prov. iii, 27; Neh. v, 5), which can mean only, "It exists (that is, it is possible) for the might—or power—of my hand." 3. Finally, the opinion that *ilu* or *ēl* had primarily the meaning "power" is strengthened by the following observation: Especially in the history of the patriarchs the word *ēl* is joined with the adjective *shaddaj*, the meaning of which word is probably "powerful." It is met for the first time in the familiar passage, "I am the Almighty God (*ēl shaddaj*); walk before me, and be thou perfect" (Gen. xvii, 1). His false assumption that "goal" was the primary sense of *ilu* or *ēl* is put to further use by Delitzsch in the following manner. He says that "this goal naturally can be but one" (p. 46). This inference is neither logically necessary nor is it substantiated by historic facts. Cannot a man possess more than one goal for his aspirations? *If*, therefore, the word *ilu* had meant originally "goal" it could have designated, in perfect accord with logic and grammar, also "*a* goal." In no case can the alleged meaning of the word *ilu* prove anything in favor of the contention of Delitzsch. Moreover, it is refuted by historic facts. Delitzsch, it is true, declares that the tribe to which Hammurabi belonged possessed a monotheistic religion (p. 46), but he has not taken into consideration the following facts: The father of Hammurabi was called Sin-muballiṭ; that is, "Sin (the moon god) brings to life." So then, in the family of Hammurabi the moon god was worshiped. The same family worshiped also the sun god, Shamshu, for Hammurabi's son was called Shamshu-iluna, that is, "the Sun is our god." Again, in an inscription of Hammurabi, preserved in the British Museum, he calls himself more than once the favorite of Shamash and Marduk (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (vol. iii, 1, p. 117). In other inscriptions, which may be read in the same volume, p. 106ff., he makes supplication to several other gods. If these persons, who according to the foregoing evidence pos-

sessed a polytheistic religion, used the word *ilu,* this word must express the idea "*a* god." Consequently, the name which Delitzsch rendered in *Babel und Bibel* (p. 46) "God has given" must have the meaning "*a* god has given." It could happen that the father of a child would not dare to select from the pantheon of his nation the celestial dispenser of the blessing for which he desired to express gratitude in the naming of the child. In such a case he who chose the name of the child would seek to express the thought "a (any one) god has given."

This opinion is supported further by the custom of the Greeks and that of other nations. Did not the apostle Paul find in Athens an altar dedicated "to an unknown god"? Indeed, so we read in Acts xvii, 23; and this statement is corroborated by several passages from Pausanias and from other Greek authors. Moreover, the Romans possessed the formula, "*Si deo, si deæ,*" meaning literally, "If to a god, if to a goddess." They meant to say, "If the respective sacrifice of thanksgiving or petition is to be offered to a god, may it be consecrated to *him;* and if it is to be offered to a goddess, may it be regarded as *hers.*" And the idea of an "unknown god" was by no means foreign to the Babylonians. We read in the Babylonian *Penitential Psalms,* edited and translated by H. Zimmern in 1885, for example, the following lines:

> "That the heart-anger of my lord may be appeased,
> A god whom I know not be pacified."

The expressions "unknown god" and "unknown goddess" occur also on pp. 61ff. Thus the Babylonians, as well as the Greeks and the Romans, were at times conscious that they did not know the god whom they had offended through disobedience; they had, therefore, the idea of "an unknown god." With so much more reason must the name which Delitzsch translated "God has given" express the thought "*a* (some unknown) god has given." It follows that Delitzsch also has *failed* to prove the assertion that the people from whom Abraham came forth possessed a monotheistic religion.

He has *not,* therefore, proved his allegation that "that upon which rests the significance of the Bible in the world's history, namely, monotheism" (p. 44), was borrowed from the Babylonians. He neither mentions nor disproves the words found in the Old Testament: "Your fathers dwelt of old time beyond the River (that is, the most important of Anterior Asia, the Euphrates), even Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nahor; and *they served other gods*" (Josh. xxiv, 2).

What I have said here about the assertions of Friedrich Delitzsch is a sample of what I have written in my booklet *Bibel und Babel,* which has just appeared in Berlin (51 pp.; price, 80 pfennige=20 cents). I demonstrate there as untenable a whole series of theses brought forward by Delitzsch in disparagement of the Old Testament.

A third author who has written very recently concerning *Beginnings of Hebrew Monotheism* is the well-known American scholar, W. F. Warren. He did so in an article which appeared in the *Methodist Review* (January, 1902, p. 24ff.). (The author himself very kindly sent me his article, and he will surely not be offended if I publish quietly a few remarks concerning it; for only through exchange of opinion can truth be led to victory.) The method and aim of the exposition of Warren are entirely different from the method and aim of the other two writers, as may be seen at once from the addition he has made to the above-cited words of his theme, namely, "The Ineffable Name." This is, as is well known, the so-called Tetragrammaton, the name Jahve, which the Jews in postexilic times avoided more and more, so as not to profane it, and which is, for the same reason, displaced in the Greek version of the Old Testament by "the Lord." Warren attempts to prove that this name Jahve, *this symbol of Hebrew Monotheism,* developed from a shorter divine name met among the Babylonians. As a matter of fact, the divine name Ia, lengthened by the old nominative ending *u* and the mimmation *m,* is found in cuneiform texts; this also is set forth explicitly in my above-mentioned book-

let. Another question is whether this divine name is identical with the name of the god Ea. As to this question two opposing views are entertained: On the one side Hommel has stated—this is not mentioned by Warren—in his book *Die altisraelitische Ueberlieferung* (p. 113): "There is found in various Assyrian proper names also a masculine deity Ai or Ia, which latter reading is also possible; and this god is *not* identical with the Babylonian god Ea, whose name is written with different signs." On the other hand, George Margoliouth (Assyriologist in the British Museum) has advanced the thesis, "Ea and Ya (Yah) form an undoubted equation" (*Contemporary Review,* October, 1898).

Two theses, therefore, must probably be distinguished in the exposition of Warren.

One of these is that the divine name Jahve developed from the shorter divine name Ia. This assertion can neither be absolutely confirmed nor can it be absolutely denied. The possibility of genetic connection between an earlier divine name Ia and the name Jahve must be admitted; in any case, the non-Israelitish existence of this divine name Ia cannot be disputed with any good reason. Its existence is further established from the name of a Canaanitish locality, Bai-ty-a or Bait-ya, which occurs, according to W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa,* pp. 162, 312), in Egyptian texts from the time of Dhutmose (sixteenth century). The Mosaic standard of Old Testament religion loses none of its sublimity if an older form of the name Jahve was transformed and thus received new contents. It is therefore to be acknowledged as possible that Ia became in the Mosaic stage of revelation Jahve, and that in this manner was revealed the idea "the Existing" (that is, the eternal, absolute, immutable, true) as the appropriate designation of God. This view is confirmed rather than prohibited by Exod. iii, 13f. and vi, 2ff.; it also coincides with Hos. xii, 10 (E. V. verse 9), according to which passage Jahve was the God of Israel "from the land of Egypt."

The second point in Warren's exposition, namely, that the

aforementioned divine name Ia is identical with the name of the Babylonian god Ea, cannot be deduced from the Old Testament in the manner in which he thinks it can be done. Warren appeals, in the first place, to the fact that in connection with the call of Moses the change of a rod into a serpent is mentioned (Exod. iv, 2-5). He says (p. 27) that Moses "should be accredited to his countrymen by signs that they would recognize as appropriate to Ea." Now, apart from the fact that there is not a hint in the text pointing to this conception, there are several considerations which make this interpretation improbable. It was but natural that the rod of Moses should be used in the performance of the miracle, for it was the only thing at hand; in fact, the Lord asked Moses, "What is that in thine hand?" Again, Moses at least did not know that the serpent was to accredit him a servant of Ea, for *he fled from the serpent.* This part of the account is overlooked by Warren. This defect is not remedied by his claim to be able to trace a whole series of passages in the Old Testament to the fact that the prototype of Jahve, namely, Ea, was the "god of all waters" (p. 28). I have no desire to take up all these passages. We do not need this interpretation to enable us to understand that Jahve prepared for his people a path through the waves of the Red Sea (Exod. xv, 1ff.). Surely, as the God who with almighty impulse set the world systems into motion, he could by an extraordinary breath of his Spirit separate the waters so that Israel might escape the pursuer.

I take the liberty to add only a few words concerning 1 Sam. vii, 6. There we read, "They drew water and poured (it) out before Jahve." Warren remarks on this: "The unlevitical libation of water to Jahve recorded in 1 Sam. vii, 6 has for many generations been a hopeless puzzle to all commentators, Jewish as well as Christian." Now it is true that Henry P. Smith, in the *International Critical Commentary, in loc.*, says nothing but "A rite not elsewhere mentioned; it must be symbolical of contrition." But, even if nothing more could be adduced from the Old Testament to throw

light on this performance, we would not be permitted to see in 1 Sam. vii, 6 a trace of Ea cult. From the Old Testament, however, we may add that which was already remarked by Thenius in *Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch* (1864), *in loc.:* We read in Psa. xxii, 15 (E. V. verse 14), "I am poured out like water," and in Lam. ii, 19, "Pour out thine heart like water before the face of the Lord." From these passages we may infer that the pouring out of water was an act symbolizing the shedding of tears and the dissolution of the body, both of which processes are natural results of contrition. In addition, Klostermann, in Strack-Zoeckler, *Kurzgefasster Commentar, in loc.,* has proposed still another interpretation. He says: "The pouring out of water expresses, on the one hand, the resolution to cleanse the land polluted by idolatry; on the other, the petition that God may look upon the land as purified through repentance." The first part of this interpretation, however, has no direct support in the Old Testament, while the second part comes back silently to the interpretation proposed by Thenius and the older commentators. But I will not pursue the subject any further. I believe I have demonstrated with sufficient clearness that the path followed by Warren also fails to lead to the conclusion that the monotheism of the Old Testament was borrowed from the religion of the Babylonians.

Ed. König

Art. II.—A REPLY TO DOCTOR KÖNIG.

Availing myself of the kind permission of the editor of the *Review* to present some remarks on the opening article of the present issue, I would, first of all, express my thanks to Professor König for the friendly tone of all his references to the parties whom he has felt moved to pass in review. For the two Assyriologists by profession I need not speak, since their positions can be successfully established or overthrown only by scholars expert in cuneiform lore. I only express a doubt whether either one of them would consider his position represented with fairness by the opening statement or implication that according to his view "Abraham brought monotheism with him from his native country." Certainly I myself nowhere stated or knowingly implied such a thesis. Quite as little have I found it in *Babel und Bibel,* or in the other writings referred to, if by monotheism the critic means what he later uses as a synonym, "the monotheism of the Old Testament."

As of the "two theses" to be distinguished in my article the first is in the end "confirmed rather than prohibited" by the reviewer, it may be passed over in silence. The second is not combated by any arguments new or old, but simply found "Not proven." With this Scotch verdict I should be the last to disagree. In questions of this sort demonstration is rarely found. In my article I deliberately used the term "suggestions" instead of proofs, or even arguments. As suggestions they have weighed with many conservative scholars more than was to have been anticipated.

As to the flight of Moses before the serpent, this was not when he appeared as a divinely commissioned messenger to his countrymen, but at a time when he was exhausting every excuse he could invent for not accepting the high commission tendered. Terror was therefore doubly natural whatever his conception of the divinity with whom he was communicating.

The passage 1 Sam. vii, 6, is of small import however inter-

preted, but if the well-known proto-Semitic custom of pouring out water in invoking the pardoning favor of Ea really lay back of the action recorded it would surely be more natural to explain the later Hebrew idiom in Psa. xxii, 14, and Lam. ii, 19, by the prehistoric rite than the prehistoric rite by the far later occurring idiom.

In this connection I might mention that my interpretation of this libation is noticed with express approval by one of the most erudite of the Hebraists connected with the British Museum, and that in a recent communication addressed to me he designates it as a "most important" point. He believes that it throws a welcome light on an obscure passage in the Babylonian Talmud, to which he refers me, and also upon other Talmudic terms referred to by Levy in his *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch,* vol. iv, p. 160. The old interpretations, including that favored by Professor König, are so difficult and unsatisfying that in one large quarto commentary in my library some pages are devoted to the presentation and criticism of them with no acceptable result.

In view of Professor König's closing sentence I am led to add that in concluding the twelve numbered "suggestions" of my article I used these words: "It seems hardly too much to paraphrase the language of Paul on Mars' Hill and say: Whom therefore a branch of the too superstitious Semites ignorantly worshiped, him declared the divinely commissioned Moses unto them." These words were intended to imply that, like the polytheistic Athenians, not only the pre-Abrahamic East Semites, but also the pre-Mosaic Hebrews, were "too superstitious," and that the worship of even Ea, when compared with that taught by the divinely commissioned Moses, was an "ignorant" worship. A reader of Professor König's article would hardly get this impression of my "conclusion."

With respect to the attitude of Hommel to the question of the original equivalence of Ea and Ya, Professor König "does not mention" the following, extracted from Hommel's Annotations to the dissertation of Mr. Pinches on *The Re-*

ligious Ideas of the Babylonians, page 36: "In every case this male deity (*Ya*) seems to me in its Semiticized form *Ya'u* to be the original of the Hebrew *Yahu* which Moses transformed to *Yahve,* so filling the old heathenish word for heaven (or Ea) with new substance, and giving it a new theological meaning instead of the old mythological."

Finally, as further expert testimony I may add that in a private letter, addressed to me last February, one of the most eminent of the Assyriologists of Europe wrote as follows: "In all probability, upon the adoption of Merodach as the principal god of the Babylonians, the votaries of Ea identified their deity with Yau, the god *par excellence,* and Hebrew (and Babylonian) monotheism may have originated in this, the former to exist and be perpetuated as the national religion of the Jews, the latter foredoomed to destruction because unable to flourish in the midst of Babylonian polytheism. It is needless to say that I am exceedingly obliged to you for what you have written, as it in great measure supports my own theory." This language is the more weighty, partly because it comes from a veteran scholar who but a few years ago publicly dissented from the above cited view of Hommel, and partly because of all masters of the cuneiform texts known to me his studies of Ea and of his worship are the most thorough and the most recent.

William F. Warren.

Art. III.—THE THEOLOGY OF HORACE BUSHNELL.

No one can understand the theology of Bushnell who has not some appreciation of his personality. In a fragment of autobiography which was found dimly penciled on a stray sheet of paper occur these words, indicating how he appeared to himself:

> My figure in this world has not been great; but I have had a great experience. I have never been a great agitator, never pulled a wire to get the will of men, never did a politic thing. It was not for this reason, but because I was looked upon as a singularity —not exactly sane, perhaps, in many things—that I was almost never a president or vice president of any society, and almost never on a committee. Take the report of my doings on the platform of the world's business, and it is naught. I have filled no place at all. But still it has been a great thing even for me to live. In my separate and merely personal kind of life I have had a greater epic transacted than was ever written, or could be. The little turns in my life have turned great changes—what I am now as distinguished from the merely mollusk and pulpy state of infancy—the drawing out of my powers, the correcting of my errors, the winnowing of my faults, the washing of my sins; that which has given me principles, opinions, and, more than all, a faith, and, as the fruit of this, an abiding in the sense and free partaking of the life of God.

One gets here the flavor of the man. He is modest, even over-modest, in the estimate of his achievements, yet clearly conscious of the greatness of his experience because he attributes it to a divine light and leading. He rightly describes himself as a man of thought rather than of action. His was a brooding mind, absorbingly interested in ideas and in thinking out their relations and implications, yet he was no recluse, no austere despiser of the commonplace, workaday world. He possessed a singular power to relate the greatest truths to the duties and struggles of this life. Where should we look for a glorification of plain, homely duties and of faithful, honest Christian people equal to that which Bushnell has furnished in some of his sermons and addresses? Reared in the country, among plain working people, and for years himself a toiler in the mill and on the farm, he knew

well the world of action; but he came to know a higher and broader realm, that of motive and principle, and in this realm he habitually lived in order that from it he might derive light and truth wherewith to interpret life and to inspire action.

Bushnell was born in 1802 in Litchfield County, Conn., and he lived among the Litchfield hills until he entered Yale College in 1823. Yet was he not quite a typical son of New England. His father had adopted Arminian opinions and his mother had been reared in the Episcopal Church, and thus it happened that early in his life he came under other religious influences than those of the Calvinism of the period. How much this had to do with Bushnell's career later we will leave him to say who can estimate the subtle power of heredity and early environment. Bushnell early heard his father repudiate the tough predestinationism and the total depravity which were taught in the church, and it is probable that through his mother's views and experience he may first have been led into the line of reflection which resulted in the book on "Christian Nurture." Entering college, young Bushnell is a vigorous and virile, but keenly sensitive, impressionable youth, his soul full of humor, pathos, and deep feeling, but alert, enterprising, and courageous; singularly fearless, eager, and independent. He will have to make his own way, to blaze his own path through the tangled forests of human opinion, for he is by nature a nonconformist. He must see with his own eyes; must reach his own conclusions in his own way, and eventually have his own way of telling them. Nothing in Bushnell is more individual than his style. No one ever could successfully imitate it.

In college, like many thoughtful students, he became quite skeptical. It was, however, a healthy and necessary process through which he was passing, testing and maturing his inherited convictions and fighting his way to some clear grounds of belief which he could call his own. All was well which ended so well. In the seminary he came under the subtle

and commanding power of Dr. N. W. Taylor, then at the height of his fame and influence—the recognized champion of a new theology, the leader of a school, the idol of his students and followers, and more than a match for any one of his many opponents. No keener dialectician had appeared in New England since the elder Edwards. From the doctor's instruction, from its method and its conclusions alike, Bushnell reacted.

And why? Chiefly because the discussions seemed to him to be an acute practice in formal logic; to proceed without any proper recognition of the nature and limits of religious thought, to deal with logical abstractions and to issue in daring but groundless speculations. This theologizing was too purely abstruse and theoretic, too remote from reality, to possess more than a curious interest. He began to think that the theologians of the period were "mere logickers" and "one-word professors" who seize upon certain human figures and analogies and develop all their suggestions and inferences into doctrines by an "extempore clatter of logical judgments." During this period he read and absorbed Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*, a book to which he testified in his old age that he owed more than to any other save the Bible. This book was his guiding light to the position which he states thus:

> Too soon did the doctors of the Church forget that the heart, the moral nature, was the beginning and the end; and that truth, knowledge, and insight were comprehended in its expansion. This was the true and first apostasy—when in council and synod the divine humanities of the Gospel gave way to speculative systems, and religion became a science of shadows under the name of theology, or at best a bare skeleton of truth, without life or interest, alike inaccessible and unintelligible to the majority of Christians. For these, therefore, there remained only rites and ceremonies and spectacles, shows and semblances. Thus among the learned the substance of things hoped for passed off into notions; and for the unlearned the surface of things became substance. The Christian world was for centuries divided into the many that did not think at all and the few who did nothing but think—both alike unreflecting, the one from defect of the act, the other from the absence of an object.

So much for preliminaries.

The chief characteristics of Dr. Bushnell as a theological thinker appear to have been intensity, independence, and comprehensiveness. His interest in theological subjects was absorbing, his method unconventional, and his temper catholic. Bushnell made no claim to be a theological scholar or a systematic thinker, in the technical sense. He was at once something less and something more than either. If he derived less from others than men commonly do it was partly because he had less occasion to borrow from others. If he was sometimes one-sided in his views of truth it was because he believed that he saw a side of the truth which had been forgotten or obscured and which deserved special emphasis or advocacy. It is common to class him among the intuitive rather than among the speculative or logical theologians—to describe him as a representative of the theology of the feelings rather than of the theology of the intellect. This has its measure of truth, but, after all, it was not so much because Bushnell was less logical than the theologians of his time that he differed from them as because he started from different presuppositions. He was not deficient in ability to develop a subject logically within the relations which were real for his mind. His peculiarity lay in the view which he took of the function of logic in theology and of the sphere of its application. The method and results of Bushnell's theological reflection may be illustrated by a review of the contribution which he made to religious thought. That contribution appears to be found, chiefly, in four points:

1. His theory of church life.
2. His theory of theological knowledge.
3. His idea of the supernatural.
4. His ethical interpretation of atonement.

A few comments are offered on each of these in order.

Bushnell grew up in a time when the revival was chiefly depended upon as the means of recruiting the church. The working theory of church life was that the church was to

be built up *ab extra* by occasional protracted meetings attended by appeal and excitement. Bushnell indulged in no wholesale objections to revivals, but he did not believe that revivalism should be the main dependence and hope of the church for making progress in the world. Such a method might be occasional and supplementary, attended though it was by so many disadvantages; but it could never supply the lack of a normal and healthy church growth. From the very beginning of his ministry in Hartford Bushnell had been brooding another view of the matter, and probably much earlier. At any rate, he published two years after his settlement an essay on "Revivals of Religion" whose chief contention was that the child who is born to the heritage of Christian influence and instruction ought to grow up a Christian and ought never to be or to imagine himself to be anything else. This essay was the germ of the volume on "Christian Nurture" published eleven years later.

It was not strange that this book raised a storm. It laid the ax at the root of current beliefs and practices. It was a challenge to the individualism which dominated the church life of New England and a plea for a social and organic theory of the propagation of religion. It flatly denied the doctrine of church growth by adult conversion only, repudiated the theory that in regeneration God works only by direct supernatural means, deprecated the assumption that people must grow up in sin and irreligion until they reach adult life and that then only can they, by a radical revolution, come into relation with Christ and his saving mercy. Bushnell maintained that children should grow up into the Christian life as they grow up into maturity of mental or moral life, receiving Christ and his salvation increasingly according to the measure of their understanding of it and developing capacity to appropriate it. In short, the church should recognize and use the laws on which all organic societies are founded; that religion was as truly native to man and normal to his life as morality

or thought, and that it was a shocking perversion to suppose that God was absent from those natural relationships and influences which mold and shape our life, religious as well as mental. These relations to Christian society, especially that of the family, he viewed as God's universal means of grace through which he chiefly ministers of his Spirit to human life. Here, indeed, was heresy; or, rather, a whole brood of heresies.

With the correctness or incorrectness of this theory of the grace ministered through Christian nurture we are not here concerned. What is the theological foundation on which the theory rests? One of the presuppositions is that the natural and the supernatural are not to be set up in rivalry and contrast. This was the great underlying idea of the book *Nature and the Supernatural.* These together constitute the one system of God. The hard and fast dualism which made nature and the natural life of man a kind of neutral sphere, or quite as likely a positively undivine or evil territory from which God must be kept wholly apart, Bushnell had already repudiated while yet a theological student. His theory of Christian nurture, according to which the grace of God is chiefly mediated to men not merely sporadically, in sacred rites or isolated experiences, but naturally, constantly, normally, through the providential channels of his grace ordained in man's creation—through the sacraments of heredity and parental influence and training—was an application of his view of the relations of nature and the supernatural as fundamentally one. It was based in a species of monism and in a consequent repudiation of the dualistic and semideistic view of nature and of man which, reaching its highest development in the one-sided supernaturalism of the seventeenth century, was still rife in Bushnell's day—as, indeed, it still is in our own. Another theological presupposition of his theory was the native religiousness and receptivity to goodness which are constitutive in human nature. With Tertullian, Bushnell believed in the "human soul naturally Christian;" that

is, that man is by nature adapted to religion and that his religious nature may and should unfold normally from the first.

All this was quite preposterous on the current theory of total depravity which, if somewhat mitigated, still held sway. The catechism which was still taught in churches and families asserted that all men are born into the world guilty of Adam's sin and heirs of such a moral corruption that they are "utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite unto all that is spiritually good, and wholly inclined to all evil, and that continually." Edwards's description of native depravity is more realistic than most, but only because it is more consistent with the theory and thoroughgoing in its logic. Here are a few sentences taken from the description, and it is to be remembered that they are but samples of pages upon pages, and that the indictment is that of all men—that is, of human nature as such:

> They [men] are totally corrupt, in every part, in all their faculties, and all the principles of their nature, their understandings and wills; and in all their dispositions and affections; their heads, their hearts are totally depraved; all the members of their bodies are only instruments of sin; and all their senses, seeing, hearing, and tasting, etc., are only inlets and outlets of sin, channels of corruption. There is nothing but sin; no good at all.

The practical outcome of the two types of doctrine may be illustrated by two or three incidents: Cotton Mather, on one occasion, took his little daughter Katie into his study and reminded her that both he and she must shortly die and go to their judgment. "I then set before her," he says, "the sinful condition of her nature and charged her to pray that God would give her a new heart." Nathaniel Mather made this entry in his diary concerning his own sinful state when a child: "When very young I went astray from God and my mind was altogether taken with vanities and follies, such as the remembrance of them doth greatly abase my soul within me. Of the manifold sins which then I was guilty of, none so sticks upon me as that, being very young, I was *whittling* on the Sabbath day; and for fear of being

seen I did it behind the *door*. A great reproach of God! a specimen of that *atheism* I brought into the world with me!" Such was the early Puritan view. This is what Bushnell wrote to one of his children:

> You have been religiously educated and are come to an age when you must begin to be more responsible for yourself. Our prayer for you every day is that God would impart his grace and draw you on to a full choice of himself and perform the good work which we trust he has begun in you. I would recommend to you now that you set before you, as a distinct object, the preparing yourself to make a profession of the Saviour. Make this a distinct object of thought and prayer every day. And do not inquire so much what you are, whether truly a Christian in heart or not, as how you may come into the full Christian spirit, to become unselfish, and to have a distinct and abiding love to Christ.

The second topic is the theory of theological knowledge. This Bushnell unfolded in his essay on "Language." He dwelt upon the fact that all the terms which we apply to spiritual subjects are physical in origin and therefore figurative. He urged that such terms must not be regarded as accurate and adequate expressions of the spiritual facts which they symbolize; they are rather hints or suggestions only. They picture forth in imaginative forms that which in its inner nature is unimaginable. Our philosophical and theological language is analogical. It implies a constant comparison of the natural with the spiritual and springs from an effort to render the spiritual in terms of the natural. Such is the nature of language as applied to spiritual phenomena. It is a system of sensuous symbols and pictures which truly expresses the meaning of the spiritual for the imagination and the feeling, but becomes untrue when it is subjected to a purely logical treatment. "What they carry into our soul's feeling or perception, or awaken in it by expression," says Bushnell, "is their only truth, and that is a simple internal state of the soul itself; which if we undertake to handle in any merely logical and *a priori* method we are sure to abuse both ourselves and it." His chief contention is that when you take a figurative word or phrase and apply it to some divine truth or mystery, and

then proceed to draw out the suggestions of the figure and reason out its implications as if the figurative conception were as accurate as a mathematical formula, you are simply forgetting the nature of language and deceiving yourself. Bushnell believed that the history of theology was full of unconscious logical juggling with the forms and suggestions of figurative words. He gives many examples: The human concept of begetting applied to the inner mystery of Deity; the discussion of the causes which produce the acts of the will; renderings of the doctrine of salvation in military, commercial, and legal analogies. To one of these subjects he refers in these words:

> Discussing the human will, for example, or the great question of liberty, the writer will be overpowered by the terms and predicates of language, which, being mostly derived from the physical world, are charged to the same extent with a mechanical significance. And then we shall have a sophism, great or small, according to his capacity—a ponderous volume, it may be, of formulas, filled up, rolled about, inverted, crossed, and twisted—a grand, stupendous, convoluted sophism—all a mere outward practice, however, on words and propositions, in which, as they contain a form of cause and effect in their own nature, it is easily made out that human liberty is the liberty of a scale-beam, turned by the heavier weights. Meantime, the question is only a question of consciousness, one in which the simple decision of consciousness is final—to which argument, whether good or bad, can really add nothing, from which nothing take.

We observe here the view which he took of theological definition and speculative argumentation. He believed that, as practiced in his day, it was mainly a play of formal logic, a very serious but deceptive manipulation of figures of speech. The mischief of this theologizing was that it regarded its deductions, which it had thus spun out, as part and parcel of the Gospel, or, at least, as corollaries of it, essential to be held and taught. Bushnell made his protest in the interest of liberty. The current systems were worth as much to him as the reasoning of which they were the product—and of this it must be said that he did not entertain a very high opinion:

> A very great share of our theological questions, or disputes, originate in the incapacity of the parties to separate truths from their forms, or to see how the same essential truth may clothe itself under forms that are repugnant. There wants to be a large digestion, so to speak, of form in the teacher of theology or mental philosophy, that he may always be aware how the mind and truth, obliged to clothe themselves under the laws of space and sensation, are taking, continually, new shapes or dresses, coming forth poetically, mystically, allegorically, dialectically, fluxing through definitions, symbols, changes of subject and object, yet remaining still the same; for if he is wanting in this, if he is a mere logician, fastening on a word as the sole expression and exact equivalent of a truth, to go on spinning his deductions out of the form of the word (which yet have nothing to do with the idea), then he becomes an opinionist only, quarreling as for truth itself with all who chance to go out of his word; and since words are given not to imprison souls but to express them, the variations continually indulged by others are sure to render him as miserable in his anxieties as he is meager in his contents, and busy in his quarrels.

Here he clearly discloses the grounds of his distrust in the methods and results of systematic theology. He thought it too remote from reality, too little aware of its own limitations and of the defects of the instrument which it employed, and quite forgetful of several all-important "previous questions" which required answers before it could properly begin its work:

> And so it comes to pass that, while there is but one truth, we have many theologies—little finite universes all, soap-bubble worlds rising by their own levity, whirled away by all cross-winds of philosophy and providential history, bursting in tiny collisions, or without collision, by the mere thinness of their films, and not leaving moisture enough at the point where they vanish to show where they were.

The significance of Bushnell's contention in this essay lies apparently in two points: (1) He showed how easily the theologian is misled by mere figures of speech—how readily he may deceive himself and others by the use of terms and analogies which, closely considered, are illustrative only. From this consideration he forcibly argued that "all formulas of doctrine should be held in a certain spirit of accommodation. They cannot be pressed to the letter, for the very sufficient

reason that the letter is never true. They can be regarded only as proximate representations, and should therefore be accepted not as laws over belief, or opinion, but more as badges of consent and good understanding." (2) This dissertation distinctly suggests, though it does not directly discuss, the questions as to the nature, limits, and method of theological knowledge. These questions received no consideration at the hands of the old dogmatician. They made assumptions with respect to these on whose correctness and adequacy their whole process of systemizing was dependent. In the field of these assumptions or presuppositions lay the chief problems of their alleged science. But the speculative divine of Bushnell's days, and earlier, did not deign to tell us how or why or on what grounds he knew what he affirmed. He did not raise the question to himself. It had no existence for his mind. He assumed that a certain current method of deducing by logical processes a speculative system from the language of Scripture was sound and valid. Problems concerning the constitutional limits of the human faculties in the handling of such themes, concerning the nature and availability for the proposed purposes of the Scripture so used and concerning the applicability of figurative language to spiritual themes—these problems received little, if any, consideration. Bushnell challenged theology to examine and justify its presuppositions.

Incidental reference has already been made to the third general topic, the relations of nature and the supernatural. Bushnell's treatise on this subject is the most systematic and complete of all his works. It is directed against the current naturalism—the conception of nature as a self-sufficient sphere of mechanical forces and laws. It is an argument for the reality of a spiritual world which enspheres and undergirds nature and whose higher meanings and uses it is the function of nature to fulfill. Nature and spirit are, indeed, distinct. They are two forms of being each of which has its own laws and forces. Nature is the sphere of mechanical causation and sequence; spirit is the realm

of freedom, responsibility, and moral values. But these two worlds have one ultimate cause and ground. Together they constitute the one system of God. Nature is not all, nor the highest. The spiritual world is primary. Nature exists to serve its ends. The material world has its meaning as an arena in which the great moral drama of humanity is enacted. Whatever nature is, that is its meaning. Mechanism serves the ends of spirit. Not materialism but spiritualism is the true philosophy of the world and of life. Bushnell says:

> God has erected another and higher system [than nature], that of spiritual being and government, for which nature exists; a system not under the law of cause and effect, but ruled and marshaled under other kinds of laws and able continually to act upon, or vary the action of the processes of nature. If, accordingly, we speak of system, this spiritual realm or department is much more properly called a system than the natural, because it is closer to God, higher in its consequence, and contains in itself the ends or final causes for which the other exists and to which the other is made subservient.

What better could a Lotze say than this? Is not this the chief contention of modern theistic philosophy? Is it not the substance of that spiritualistic monism which holds sway in the speculative thought of our time?

This general idea Bushnell applied in many directions. He was fond of asserting that man is supernatural. In his intelligence, freedom, and conscience he transcends the mere life of nature. In other respects he is, indeed, a child of nature. He is implicated in both worlds, but he has his real and true being as he fulfills his idea and destiny only in the spiritual order. It is there that he finds the meaning and ends of his life. The physical in him is only a kind of natural base of operations—a kind of πού στῶ from which he may set in action moral and spiritual powers in whose development he truly realizes himself.

In the light of these principles Bushnell discussed such subjects as sin and salvation, miracle and the person of Christ. Sin, he held, is no mere natural defect but a moral

perversion—a false direction and state of the will. He did not believe that sin was a fall upward, or that it was good in the making, or that it was self-curative. He repudiated all merely naturalistic explanations of sin and of its remedy. Sin was to him a phenomenon of the spiritual order. It had originated after man became man, by the action of voluntary powers which constitute man supernatural, and hence was no mere brute inheritance or surviving surplus of sensuousness. Hence he did not look to any process of man's natural development for the cure of sin, but to the operation of God. This saving work is accomplished through Christ, whose unique personality, forbidding his possible classification with men, Bushnell portrayed in the classic tenth chapter of this work:

> It were easier to untwist all the beams of light in the sky, separating and expunging one of the colors, than to get the character of Jesus, which is the real gospel, out of the world. Look ye hither, meantime, all ye blinded and fallen of mankind, a better nature is among you, a pure heart out of some pure world is come into your prison and walks it with you. In him dawns a hope—purity has not come into our world except to purify. Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world! Light breaks in, peace settles on the air, lo! the prison walls are giving way—rise, let us go.

Concerning our final topic, Bushnell's interpretation of atonement, it is, of course, well known that his was an ethical interpretation; that he sought to state the saving significance of Christ in terms of spirit and personal relationship. The theory was built upon the principle of the essential vicariousness of love—the mysterious power of sympathy to enter into the woes of its object and part all its burdens, taking half itself. Bushnell held, even insisted upon, the essence of historic orthodoxy on this subject: that in the work of Christ is expressed and made effective not only the benevolence or grace, but also the holiness or righteousness, of God. Bushnell has been represented as holding only the former aspect of Christ's work—the disclosure of an infinite good nature which is adapted to attract men to

repentance. But he also held, with Paul, to a manifestation of God's righteousness—which is the essence or common factor in all so-called orthodox interpretations of the subject:

> Many teachers have been rising up, in all past ages, and propounding it as the true theory of the Gospel that Christ came forth to be a Redeemer, in the way of being an example. But no theory of the kind has ever been able . . . to get any show of general acceptance. For the truth is that we consciously want something better than a model to be copied; some vehicle of God to the soul, that is able to copy God into it. Something is wanted that shall go before and beget in us the disposition to copy an example.

In close connection with the foregoing he adds:

> To magnify love, therefore, even the love of the cross, as being itself the new creating power of God, would be a very great mistake, if the righteous rule of God is not somehow included. When Jesus in his sacrifice takes our lot upon his feeling, and goes even to the cross for us, we need also to conceive that he does this for the right, and because the everlasting word of righteousness commands him.

These words are from Part II of the *Vicarious Sacrifice*. The entire third part of the book is devoted to the discussion of the relation of the work of Christ to God's law and government. The whole discussion labors to show, in a way more satisfactory than the penal satisfaction and governmental theories had done, how Christ in his saving work vindicates and honors the righteousness of God. It abounds in titles like these: "The Law Precept Duly Sanctified;" "Legal Enforcements Not Diminished;" "God's Rectoral Honor Effectively Maintained."

Perhaps this is the most convenient summary which he anywhere gives:

> Christ has set the law precept in a position of great honor and power, enduing it with such life and majesty, in men's convictions, as it otherwise never could have had. (1) He proposes, we have seen, no remission of sins which does not include a full recovery to the law. (2) All that he does and suffers in his sacrifice he as truly does for the resanctification of the law as for our recovery. (3) In his incarnation he incarnates the same and brings it nigh to men's feelings and convictions by the personal footing he gains

for it in humanity. (4) He honors it again by his obedience, which is in fact a revelation of God's own everlasting obedience, before the eyes of mankind; the grandest fact of human knowledge.

It is almost needless to add that late in his life he published the supplementary volume, *Forgiveness and Law,* for the purpose of expounding more fully and setting in clearer light this objective or Godward aspect of the atonement. In other volumes he has over and over again asserted his conviction that Christ's work was the supreme assertion of inviolable holiness and of the ill desert of sin. He says in the book *God in Christ:*

It is not Christianity, as I view it, to go forth and declare that God is so good, so lenient, such a fatherly being, that he forgives freely. No! God is better than that—so good, so fatherly, that he will not only remit sins, *but will so maintain the sanctity of his laws as to make us feel them.* The let-go system, the overlooking, accommodating, smoothing method of mere leniency, is a virtual surrender of all exactness, order, and law. The law is made void; nothing stands firm. God is a willow, bending to the breath of mortals. There is no throne left, no authority, nothing to move the conscience—therefore, really no goodness.

Such quotations could be multiplied almost indefinitely. He declares that forgiveness must be provided in such a way that men "in the very article of forgiveness" shall be made to feel "the intensest possible sense of the sanctity of the law, and the inflexible righteousness of God." Hence Christ must, in his sufferings and death, "consecrate and reconsecrate the desecrated law of God and give it a more exact and imminent authority than it had before."

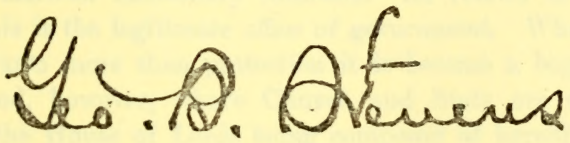
If anything more is needful to show that Bushnell held in all good faith the essence of historic orthodoxy on this subject, it might be the platform of union which he proposed to Dr. Hawes—a platform which the latter was compelled to admit was "sound and scriptural." It reads:

The work of Christ viewed in its relations to the law of God, is that by which the forgiveness of sins is made compatible with its integrity and authority; that Christ, to this end, is made under the law—made sin knowing no sin himself, receiving the chastisement of our peace, suffering and dying as a sacrifice for the sins of the world—in all which he is set forth as a propitiation to de-

clare the righteousness of God in the remission of sins; whereby the law broken is as effectually sanctified and sustained in the view of his subjects and his justice as fully displayed as they would be by the infliction of the penalty; so that, on the ground of the sacrifice made by Christ and received by faith, we are justified and accepted before God.*

Such are some of the salient points in the theology of Bushnell. No reckless innovator or adventurer was he; never was a man more deeply, solemnly in earnest. His was a heart aflame with God. Amid the realities of a spiritual and eternal order he perpetually lived. Great as his influence has been, he has not yet reached the zenith of his power. Posterity will accord him no second place among the prophets of these latter days. The verdict of history will pronounce him the greatest religious genius American Christianity has hitherto produced.

* *Life and Letters*, p. 336.



Art. IV.—THE DEBT OF THE REPUBLIC TO THE PREACHER.

This article purposes to be a brief summarization of services rendered to the United States of America by the ministers of Christ. The subject is scarcely broached; and its discussion will, in any case, open a gate to a suggestive field. In this country Church and State are absolutely distinct. The State has its function, the Church its function. The State is to protect the Church; the Church is to drain the malarias from the social swamps so as to make the State's continuance a possibility. The Church of Christ is much more vital to the State than the State to the Church. The United States has recently collected a ninety-one-thousand-dollar indemnity from Turkey for outrages perpetrated against American missionary interests. As relates to the Church this is the legitimate office of government. When a Church wants more than protection it is become a beggar. In England, however, where Church and State are commingled, the House of Lords being composed of hereditary nobility and the higher ecclesiastics, credit to the clergy has been a habit; whereas with us in America the total separation of Church and State has made the shallow politician and secular writer suppose themselves the chief functionaries of the republic, and lent them patronizing airs toward the preacher of the Gospel. For this reason the discussion of the clergy contribution to American civilization may be both timely and necessary. The geographical limit of this inquiry is the United States; the time is from the founding of the colonies until now. The personnel shall be preachers, irrespective of denomination, who have made contributions of any sort to the well-being of our native land.

Morality is the main condition of national longevity. This we take to be so evident to students of history as to need no argument. Immorality sins against the State as against the individual. What makes for immorals makes for national

anæmia and ultimate death. What makes for morals makes for health and continued life and vigor. Morals do not, historically stated, propagate themselves. Except a religion be behind a moral inculcation, that inculcation is operatively insufficient. Socratic, Platonic, Stoic, Senecan, or Aurelian morals have scarcely made a ripple on the heart of history or mankind; but the morals of Confucius and Mohammed and Buddha have been propagated because religions were behind them. That the Church of God with its *impedimenta* of Christian ethics and its propagandism of holy ardor would make for the health of the State is therefore apparent. The clergy of a city are of more economic and police value than all the police force or city employees. Every preacher walks his beat indefatigably, policing a territory for the city's good and the State's weal. Every child brought under the salutary influence of the Christian Church, in so far as the Christian influence has had its honest, operative effect on the life, has been a contribution to citizenship. Christianity makes good citizens. A Christian costs the State nothing. The gambler, saloonist, harlot, criminal of any order are constant boarders at the public tables. Every Sunday school and mission and church makes against vice, as vice makes against the public plenty as well as against public health. Vice is to be likened to the lean kine Pharaoh saw in his vision, which consumed the fat kine. No statesman can estimate the police power of the Church, and beyond that the power for constructive citizenship the Christian inculcation affords. Because it is abiding, invisible, and voiceless, like gravitation, the surface economist fails to notice its prodigious force and efficiency. Now, the minister being such as he is, the leader in the Church, the mouthpiece of its purpose and guardian of public health, must be accredited a man's part in whatsoever work of moral uplift and benefit a fair estimate may concede to the Church. Now, this suggestion is not included in the argument but is placed as a sort of concrete basis on which the argument rests; and no one acquainted with the incalculable repressive and stimulative power of Christian-

ity can for a moment gainsay the validity and force of this preliminary contention.

First, in the discussion, we must recall that the United States was settled by religious colonies, and in a day when the parson (meaning, as Lowell has told us, the chief person) was a sort of citadel figure in a community. Huguenots under Coligny settled the Carolinas; the Puritans, Massachusetts; the Baptists, Rhode Island; the Quakers, Pennsylvania; the American Puritan immigrated to Connecticut; Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstiern founded New Sweden; the Dutch Protestant founded New Amsterdam; philanthropist Oglethorpe founded Georgia; Roman Catholic Lord Baltimore founded Maryland. In Virginia, which was at the first a settlement of decayed gentry and refuse from the jails of England, the Church was an afterthought, and the clergy comparatively inconsequential and lacking in popularity, as witnesses the legal case in which Patrick Henry defeated them, in their just attempt to collect what was but their legitimate salary, when the community wished to pay them in fiat money. Roger Williams, preacher, founded Rhode Island. William Penn, preacher, was the father of the Friends Communion in America; Oglethorpe brought with him from England John Wesley as evangelist to America; John Robinson at Delft had more to do with the launching of the *Mayflower* and the emigration of the Pilgrims and the liberty their province fathered than any man, or than all men. That is to say, John Robinson, preacher of the Puritan Church, was more influential in shaping the subsequent history of America than Carver, or Winthrop, or any other Puritan governor. America will always be in his debt. He, to use a figure, helped to freight the *Mayflower* and then pushed it from the shore. His sermon on the embarkation of the Pilgrim fathers is lit with a glow of statesmanship and prophecy. Thus the clergyman was in the veins of American life. He was not injected. He was and will always remain a constituent of the blood. Diagnose his case, and reasons for this efficaciousness will become apparent.

The preacher is elevated in type and tone. Ralph Connor's *Black Rock* and *The Sky Pilot* as well as *The Man from Glengarry* illustrate this. *The Sky Pilot* might serve as the biography of thousands of preachers whose names only an obituary list makes note of. This sky pilot within society elevates it, is larger, serener, than it is, and goes heavenward with his mountain village in his two hands. The "Rabbi" in *Kate Carnegie* is silhouette of a clean, strong, manly, unselfish lover of the Christ as minister of Christ. And these characters are fictions in name only. They are true as truth. From them may be inferred the characteristics of the minister as he develops in society. He is a cultivated gentleman. There are exceptions; but this contention is that he is on a par with the community in which he is, and beyond it. Emerson in *The American Scholar,* speaking of the clergy, says, "who are always, more universally than any other class, the scholars of the day."

The preacher is intelligent and makes for intelligence himself as interpreter in the community in which he is and its leader. Men do not long listen to their inferiors. He is usually a gentleman. He has a wide fund of knowledge, and is frequently a wide traveler. He is well read; quoting from our friend Keats, of blessed memory, much has he

> traveled in the realms of gold,
> And many goodly states and kingdoms seen.

So it comes to pass that the preacher distills inspiration. He brings knowledge from remoter points of the intellectual horizon than any living man. J. G. Holland, in his letter to Benjamin Franklin Jones (in the *Titcomb Letters*) on his habitual nonattendance at church, says in effect that though his association had for many years been with leaders in the literary world, he had received intellectual life and stimulation from no class of people in such a degree as from ministers. A testimonial coming from such a man whose intercourse was with the best literary intelligence of his time, and his time recent, is weighty and worth pondering. The newspaper disseminates all sorts of information, legitimate and

illegitimate, with entire impartiality. Information the newspaper gives, but frequently fails to give illumination. The preacher goes to the best quarters and brings back the best news from the regions visited. He hobnobs with the largest and best life of the world, and is in sympathetic touch with every holy and laudable appetency of the soul, and therefore gives expression to the finer thought and fancy and fact of his era. He is a preacher of righteousness, but as well a preacher of rightness, morality, intelligence, culture, courtesy, womanliness, manliness, patriotism. His field is the world of larger aspirations, purpose, control; and he speaks of this world as of it, so that his words are a manifest philanthropy. He stands for absolute morality. He is against the sweating system, is in favor of social equality, and of all public servants knows most of the extremes of society—inasmuch as every day his line of cleavage is through all the social strata. In the morning he may pray with a dying pauper; in the afternoon, preach to male prisoners, a little later to female prisoners, and in the evening officiate at the marriage of the millionaire's daughter. His knowledge of society is thrust on him; he is in the nature of his information and vocation a unifier of society. Then he is under bonds to goodness: "Whatsoever things are pure" appeal to him as spring appeals to the poet. He is allied to all good things. He is humanitarian, friend of birds and dray horse and ill-used child, and homeless and forsaken woman, or outcast man; he is labor's friend; friend of and pleader for intelligence. He is opposed to coarseness and lewdness and intemperance, the foe to coarse and unmoral and immoral literature and theaters and lewd spectacles generally. His attitude is determined and unwavering. He is the known foe of intemperance and the liquor traffic root and branch. The polestar will change its place among the stars sooner than the preacher will change attitude against evil. That such championship of society's right must tell for society's good goes without argument.

The Clergyman as Father of a Family. God has not

shown a better place to be born or nurtured than under a manse roof. The preacher is a contribution to the public wealth in his children. No man is better qualified to rear citizens than he. Virtue, sobriety, godliness, prayer, Scripture reading, the incense of a grateful spirit, the air of culture and refinement which pervades the home, the presence of a pure and gracious woman, the neighborliness of books—these, and many concomitants of the same sort, all conspire to give a preacher's child a supreme fighting chance in the world. The Roman Catholic celibate priest herein sins against the common good. A minister deserves to have a family, and in failing here fails in public service. Luther was right not simply in Scripture theory, but in actual practice; and if from this happy home circle of the ex-priest and the ex-nun had come no other voice than Luther's Christmas hymn, written for his little children, that home had been forever sanctified. Preachers' children as a class make high grade contributions to the social, intellectual, and moral world. At this point it is discreet to recall how settled a friend the preacher is to culture, and with what uniformity the preacher's family is accorded a college training, though his circumstances are of the poorest. The preacher's son and daughter are much in evidence in college catalogues. Whatever sacrifice may have been made at home, the child is apt to be in the college; and so, a cultivated youth is what proceeds, as a rule, from the parson's doors into American life. Among the representative members of every business and social community will be the son and daughter of the preacher household. As illustrative of this, notice that Peter Stuyvesant, ablest of the Dutch governors of New Amsterdam, was a preacher's son; that Adoniram Judson, greatest of American missionaries, save William Taylor, was a preacher's son; that Jonathan Edwards was a preacher's son; that Timothy Dwight, who turned American youth away from French atheism, was a descendant of Jonathan Edwards; that the second Timothy Dwight, a renowned college president, was a preacher's son; that Henry Clay, the great compromiser,

was the same; that Fitz-Greene Halleck, the poet, was descended from John Eliot, "Apostle to the Indians;" that Samuel F. B. Morse, inventor of telegraphy, and in consequence one of the greatest benefactors of the race, was a preacher's son; and that Senator Dolliver is the son of a Methodist clergyman. Presidents Arthur and Cleveland were preachers' sons; Elizabeth Stuart Phelps was a preacher's daughter; the Field family—including Henry M. Field, the editor, David Dudley and Stephen J. Field, lawyers, and Cyrus W. Field, of Atlantic Cable fame—were a preacher's sons. So were Holmes and Lowell, poets whose names are perfume sweet; Louis Agassiz was a preacher's son. Harriet Beecher Stowe and Henry Ward Beecher were daughter and son of a preacher household. But why go farther? The Beecher household is proof positive of the amazing contribution the clergy make through their children to the public benefit.

Preachers as Founders of Colleges. The Puritan among whom the preacher was puissant gave America the public school; and preachers are friends of education as a whole, as is evidenced by their paternal relation to American colleges. They were among the chief founders, and are among their chief supporters. Denominational colleges have everywhere been pensioners on the preacher. Harvard, first college in the New World, was founded by Rev. John Harvard, who gave half his estate and all his library for such founding; it was likewise indebted to Bishop Berkeley for a rare set of the Greek and Latin classics. Yale was founded by ten ministers who "each contributed a gift of books," Bishop Berkeley being also among its earliest of patrons. Bishops Coke and Asbury founded the earliest of Methodist institutions, namely Cokesbury College. Baker University, the first college founded in the territory of Kansas, was organized by preachers and named after Bishop Baker. Indeed the multitude of denominational colleges is the creation of preachers who believe to the point of enthusiasm in Christian culture. Doctor Leonard Wood was founder of Andover Theological

Seminary; Drs. Dempster, Barrows, and Bishop Baker were founders of Garrett Biblical Institute; Rev. Thomas Kirkland founded Hamilton College; Rev. John Livingston founded Rutgers College; the Woman's College at Baltimore, which now takes rank with the leading woman's colleges of America or the world, is virtually the creation of Dr. Goucher; Dartmouth College was founded by Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, pioneer of Christian education for Indians in New England.

Preachers as College Presidents. For many years, and until very recently, college presidents have been largely selected from the ranks of clergymen. This was under that conception of a college president which held him to be an educator and a man who would be prodigiously forceful in shaping the youthful life passing under his influence. He was preeminently a shaper of mind, ambitions, ideals, and character. Just now the chief aim in securing a college president seems to be to lay hands on a money-getter. He must be magical in getting endowment. He has little or nothing to do with the student community over which he presides. He is, in other words, a college agent, spelled in a more impressive fashion. This changed ideal of a college president is an experiment, and one that does not savor of scholarship or college ideals. Senator Ingalls once said to the writer that of all men who had controlling influence on his life, President Mark Hopkins was easily chief, which utterance may stand for multitudes of experiences. When youth is young an ounce of influence is more potent than a ton might be later, and when a man of moral and mental might is in the president's chair the good resulting to those whose lives he touches is past computation. In a word, for a multitude of years, as trainers of youth and college presidents, preachers have been almost monopolists. At the head of this list of beneficent forces in American civilization, though chronologically he does not come so early, I place Rev. Francis Allison, because he was a pre-Revolution educator of distinction, under whose tuition were Charles Thomson,

Secretary of the Continental Congress during the Revolutionary period, and Francis Hopkinson, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Harvard had Increase Mather as one of its great presidents, and Edward Everett, who was a preacher. Yale had Ezra Stiles, of precious memory; Timothy Dwight, of the Revolutionary period; Theodore Woolsey, Noah Porter, and again a Timothy Dwight. Princeton glories in such presidents as Jonathan Edwards; Dr. Witherspoon, patriot, member of Congress, and signer of the Declaration of Independence; and Dr. McCosh, metaphysician and master of men. Williams had Mark Hopkins, who himself is a catalogue of great moral, intellectual, and spiritual force. Union College had Eliphalet Nott, who for sixty-two years—the longest college presidency in the history of America or the world—was at the head of the institution. Brown University had Francis Wayland; Dickinson College, John Price Durbin; Wesleyan (the oldest living college of Methodism) has had Wilbur Fisk, Stephen Olin, Dr. Bangs, founder of the Methodist Missionary Society, while from the presidency of this college Dr. Foss passed into the episcopacy. Rev. Thomas Allen was the first president of Allegheny College. Henry Bascom, the brilliant Southern orator, was president of Madison College. E. O. Haven was president of Syracuse University; Dr. Cummings, of Northwestern. Matthew Simpson, Thomas Bowman, Dr. John P. D. John were presidents of Asbury, now DePauw. Now, this list, not exhaustive, is yet sufficient to show the elevating effect on the republic of such a host of choice spirits dealing with the plastic mind, and is clearly beyond computation.

The Preacher as a Literary Man. The preacher has ever been a man of letters. Making sermons is as certainly creative as making poems. The preacher is capable of expressing thought with clearness, force, and eloquence, so that for him to become an author is a natural sequence. The clergy has produced some distinguished editors, such as, among ourselves, Abel Stevens, John P. Durbin, Edward Thomson, Daniel Curry, Gilbert Haven, D. D. Whedon, and the all-

remembering J. M. Buckley. In other denominations have been such men as Irenæus Prime, Lyman Abbott, Henry Ward Beecher, Washington Gladden, and the late gifted William C. Gray. Among writers of books, enroll these names as illustrative of the preacher's prevalence and potency in the field of letters: Abiel Holmes, author of *Annals of America* (published in 1805), and pronounced by Lossing to be "as a work of reference one of the most valuable publications ever issued from the press;" Rev. Timothy Flint, author of *Recollections of Ten Years' Residence and Travel in the Mississippi Valley,* a book which received much attention in its day, afterward became editor of the *Knickerbocker Magazine;* Jared Sparks, who edited *The Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution* and wrote the *Life of Washington* and the *Life of Franklin,* and in 1830 established the *American Almanac,* and edited the *Library of American Biography;* Rev. Jedediah Morse (father of Morse, the inventor of telegraphy) was the first American to issue a geography; Jacob and John S. C. Abbott, celebrated as writers for young people; John McClintock and James Strong, who in editing the *Cyclopædia of Biblical, Ecclesiastical, and Theological Literature* rendered a service to the Christianity of the entire world; Jonathan Edwards, the theologian and metaphysician; D. D. Whedon, editor and metaphysician, whose book on the *Freedom of the Will* rendered his name immortal; Samuel Longfellow, himself a poet, though less distinguished than his brother; Timothy Dwight, known to every lover of the hymns of the Church as the author of "I love thy kingdom, Lord;" Thomas Starr King, who has kept the summer light abundant on the White Hills by his book, *Wanderings* among them; Samuel F. Smith, author of "My country, 'tis of thee;" President Hopkins, writer of books on moral philosophy and religion; President McCosh, voluminous author, whose book on the *Divine Government* thoughtful Christians cannot afford to miss in their reading; Theodore Parker, aberrant, pugilistic, yet, as all must confess, brilliant; William Ellery Channing, chaste in life and

thought and expression, a poet of no mean repute; Professor David Swing, whose sermons were less sermons than æsthetic essays; Dr. Abel Stevens, the historian of his denomination; Jones Very, a poet of twilights, some of whose sonnets rank first in any anthology of American sonnets; Ray Palmer, hymnologist, who has impressed himself upon the world of Gospel singers; Phillips Brooks, who held himself with solitary fidelity to his preaching craft, yet wrote "O, little town of Bethlehem," and whose sermons have the literary instinct; Henry van Dyke, late minister of the Brick Church, author of *Fisherman's Luck,* which contains some of the dantiest human touches which have of recent years spilled tears upon the cheek, *And the Other Wise Man,* which is doubtless destined to be a classic, like *Rab and His Friends* or *Fishin' Jimmy,* and whose dainty volume, *The Poetry of Tennyson,* the poet himself thought was the noblest interpretation of *The Idyls of the King* that had been made during his life; Newell Dwight Hillis, whose books are anthological rather than creative, but always helpful; Edward Everett Hale, whose brochure, *A Man Without a Country,* had in the days of our national peril a beautiful and effective usefulness; Edward Eggleston, whose American novels help set the pace for delineation of character indigenous to our American life; Sheldon, author of *In His Steps,* a book which has given a direction for righteousness to many minds; Henry Ward Beecher, whose sermons are substantial contributions to literature, and are of marvelous range and expression, so that if Robertson of Brighton is to be placed among the literary worthies of England, Henry Ward Beecher must be listed with Hawthorne and Motley and Cable and Howells as exponents of the literary conception of America. Distinguished clergymen, and multitudes of those not distinguished, have spoken through a book to the thought of the country. Shedd and Phelps and Hodge and Raymond and Barnes, and legions more, have written standard books. Preachers have made large contributions to the literary thought of their generation. Mention has been made here

only of some who have wrought distinctively in the field of literature apart from theology, which was their native province.

Preachers as Inspirers. The preacher more than most men has been fertile in suggestion to others in things to be accomplished, as Cotton Mather (of unhappy witchcraft fame) suggested to Dr. Boylston the feasibility of introduction to Boston, and so to America, of inoculation for smallpox. This power of suggestion is to be considered as among the finest powers of the soul. To make others think, or dream, or aspire, or do, is genius. Dr. Peter Akers preached a sermon to which Abraham Lincoln listened, and which led that remote and yet neighborly spirit to cherish the dream of annihilating slavery; and Dr. Gunsaulus only a few years ago preached a sermon which inspired his parishioner, Philip D. Armour, to build the Armour Institute of Chicago. Such instances are not infrequent, but might be multiplied if space permitted. Bishop Simpson pronounced the funeral eulogy over Lincoln; while Bishop Andrews performed the like service over McKinley.

Preachers Who Have in a General Way Contributed to the Nation's Life. This list shall contain names sufficient to afford a basis of suggestion for multitudes of the sort not here mentioned. Rev. Jesse Glover presented a font of type to Harvard in 1638, and induced Stephen Day to go to America, where he issued the first book printed in America, namely, the *Psalms in Meter.* William Brewster, the first minister of the Puritans of Plymouth Rock, whose house in England had been the "meetinghouse" of John Robinson's Separatists prior to their emigration to Holland, set sail with the *Mayflower* company and was their minister for many years. John Eliot, "Apostle to the Indians," educated at Cambridge, came to America in 1631, and being moved with compassion toward the twenty tribes of Indians known to the English settlement, began preaching in Newton in 1646, and translated the New Testament into the Indian tongue in 1661. At the age of eighty, when too old to con-

mutes. Bishop Francis Asbury, Methodist pioneer bishop, a man of sublime devotion to his Master's business, of untiring energy, of superior executive ability, of statesmanlike forecast, helped to change barbarism into civilization, and, in any fair estimate, of those factors which were chief makers of the republic, must be given a leading place. Edward Everett entered the ministry in 1813, but was chosen the succeeding year to the Eliot Chair of Greek in Harvard, was conductor of the *North American Review,* was a member of Congress for ten years, was in 1834 Governor of Massachusetts, in 1840 Minister to England, in 1845 president of Harvard, and in 1852 succeeded Daniel Webster as Secretary of State.

The Preacher as Patriot. He is a friend and advocate of temperance. Roman Catholic clergymen and sometimes Episcopal clergymen are not total abstainers, but the clergy in general are in favor of and practice total abstinence. They are as a rule prohibitionists (I do not mean third party prohibitionists). They are against the canteen. Their opposition to the liquor wickedness is known and possesses solidarity. Now, in this thing, they are patriots, because who is a friend to the country with the largest friendship must oppose intemperance, which sins against economy, decency, home, childhood, womanhood, manhood, municipal righteousness, and the enforcement of law. Saloons are lawbreakers and breeders of anarchy and housers of it. All patriots, and accordingly all preachers, must therefore be opposed to intemperance and the liquor traffic. To Methodists it is a pleasant memory that from the inception of the Methodist Episcopal Church it was a settled foe to slavery and intemperance, and in the first General Conference, in 1784, composed entirely of preachers, pronouncement was made against the iniquity of slavery; and Bishops Coke and Asbury were the first Abolitionists in America, presenting to General Washington for his signature a petition for freeing the slaves. The attitude of the General Conference toward liquor was aggressively hostile and has never varied a hair's breadth to

this hour. As friend and civilizer of the Indian the preacher has been among the most satisfactory and useful factors. Preachers have been his instructors. Theirs has been the most generous service, touched with no rust of gold. The missionary, from the days of Eliot, through Brainerd, to now, has been a civilizer, and a quieter of those turbulent spirits beyond anyone's ability to estimate. Prior to Christian ministers' efforts with the Indians in America proper there was Las Casas, the apostle of Christianity in Cuba, a friend of the American aborigine, a priest of the early Cuban days, who was the special pleader for the rights of the Indians as against the enslavement by the cruel Spanish; and ministers as a class have been hostile to such Chinese exclusion laws as are unjust. Henry George, of Single Tax fame, promulgated a fine saying just before his death: "I am for man;" but the saying was not his invention; it was Christ's. Environments are to be reckoned with in shaping the history of the person of the minister, but as a rule he is against lynchings and violence. The hatchet policy finds scant courtesy at the hand of the more thoughtful member of this holy craft. He stands for sanity, fair dealing, manly opposition to wrong, and for the amendment of codes to fit the moral needs. The preacher is in evidence as a spokesman on all sorts of occasions. One preacher of prominence in a city will as a rule render more service on diversified occasions than all the lawyers and other professional men in the city. Consider in the late McKinley obsequies who, in the main, the orators were. However distinguished the other professions in any given community, still the preacher is the customary speaker for the great occasions, as Dr. Storrs at Brooklyn Bridge. And as a patriot the preacher has been, and is, a power for good. Chaplain (now Bishop) McCabe has spoken for the Union for forty years with his unique power of speech in the familiar "Bright Side of Life in Libby Prison." Bishop Fowler is a compelling patriotic force, in his justly celebrated lectures on "Lincoln" and "Grant." Bishop Simpson, in his lecture on

"Our Country," set thousands on fire for the Union in the days when the kindling of such flame made for the life of the nation. Beecher and Bishop Simpson were the two unhesitant voices for the Union in the dark days of secession. The attitude of these two ministers is a standing rebuke to that of Wendell Phillips, who in the darkest days of the civil war, instead of standing fast by President Lincoln, faulted him at every step, and bolted the ticket when he was nominated for his second term; and though he returned to his allegiancy in time to vote right, his influence worked for hurt rather than for help. Simpson and Beecher were not so, but with a prodigality of effort seldom seen, flamed up and down the land, making for faith in country and the triumph of the Union cause. Beecher's British campaign may frankly be considered the greatest oratorical battle and victory ever achieved, not forgetting the Demosthenic Philippics. Dr. Werter R. Davis, a Methodist preacher in Kansas, president of Baker University, first president of the first college of arts in the Territory of Kansas, was chaplain of the Wyandotte Convention, which framed the Free State Constitution. He was a member of the first Legislature, a friend of John Brown of Osawatomie, and of the strange and gifted Jim Lane. During the war he was first chaplain and afterward colonel of a company of Kansas volunteers, and became commandant of Fort Leavenworth. Colonel Allen Buckner was a fighting parson and Methodist preacher from Illinois. He was first chaplain and afterward colonel of his regiment, and led that amazing fight of Missionary Ridge, when the charge began under nobody's order, but swept on wild with victory. Bishop John H. Vincent, as the originator of the International Sunday School Lessons and of the Chautauqua movement, takes rank among the educators of the world. Dr. E. H. Chapin was a power for good in New York city for thirty years, and an antagonist of slavery when antagonism counted, and a voice for the Union, when voices were as valuable as gold. Pere Marquette was a discoverer whose name and services are among the happy memories of

the New World, and his spirit haunts the great lakes as the shadows haunt the woods. Father Beissonies, who recently died in Indianapolis, was a Roman Catholic priest sent from France while Indiana was under foreign Catholic sway, and belonged to the see of Vincennes. This priest for the past half century went to and fro a minister of God, till his name was like "ointment poured forth" and a multitude, irrespective of denomination, rose up to call him blessed. Phillips Brooks was such a dynamic force for national and international righteousness that he was like the blowing of a strong wind from off the sea—men felt him and were glad. The late Dr. Storrs of Brooklyn was, in a day of great men, great. He was scholarly, eloquent, and prodigious as a force for right doing in Brooklyn, as was no layman in the city's life.

This article must close. Enough has been said to make evident the accuracy of the title "The Debt of the Republic to the Preacher."

W. A. Quayle.

Art. V.—THE CULTURE OF JESUS'S FAMILY.

Jesus was a gentleman. His tastes were refined, his manners were quiet, his speech was chaste, his sympathies were catholic. By birth and by breeding the Son of man was allied to the best traditions of the race. Though the line of his lineage was cosmopolitan, relating him by blood to every stratum of human society, yet he was doubtless the purest product of the seed of the woman, and in both the Saviour and his family there are distinct marks of high culture.

Culture is not learning, it is not rank, it is not a matter of merchandise, it cometh not by the will of man, and least of all is culture an accident. Culture is nurture. It is a matter of training, of growth, of increment, of education. Culture is the flower of character, it is the legitimate and sure product of well-selected seed well sown, well grown, well ripened, and well reaped. Culture is refinement, in the full sense of the word; it is the product of intelligent restraint, or, to recur to the natural world where culture has unquestioned sway, it is the direct result of painstaking toil and forethought, not always for the moment joyous, but the rather grievous, since "Every branch that beareth fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit." Though a commonplace of observation it is not so commonly recalled that cultured minds have rarely risen from the seats of inherited achievement or privilege or power, but more often from the ranks of service and struggle and strenuous endeavor. The sayings of the wise rich man are verily true, that the sons of poverty have a surer outlook than the sons of wealth, and that to be brought up by one's mother, as his nurse, teacher, companion, and friend, is more to be desired than by the help of an army of serving women, governesses, tutors, and special instructors and masters. Breeding, environment, and education are potent factors in the process of culture. The family, the home atmosphere, the first lessons,

and, above all, the religious impressions of the soul's early years, mean much for or against real culture.

The childhood and youth of Jesus were those of a normal, healthful, well-born, and well-brought-up Jewish lad, the first of at least seven well-favored children. It seems clear that his parents wished him not only to be born but to be reared in the ancestral town of Bethlehem. We are told that when the Magi paid their visit to Bethlehem "they entered into the house," and it is probable that the circumcision and naming at the eighth day and the presentation and purification in the temple at the fortieth had already taken place, for immediately after the departure of the wise men the holy family fled in haste to Egypt. After Herod's death it appears to have been their intention to return to Bethlehem, and only after special guidance from on high do they finally decide to settle again in Nazareth. But how superior was Nazareth to Bethlehem in all those local accidents which distinguish the intensely provincial Judean from the stirring Gentile—almost Greek—community of lower Zebulun and Naphtali. There, only a narrow, proud, tribal or at best national spirit prevailed. Here, Syrian, Phœnician, Roman, Grecian, Egyptian, and Babylonian elements mingled freely in the tonic air which fed the broader minded yet just as pure blooded colonials of the Galilee of the nations. History teaches no lesson more clearly than that the seat of pure patriotism is not always the same as that of a people's rulers. Nazareth was situated in the center of a circle of cities two hundred of which contained above ten thousand inhabitants apiece and each of which was within the compass of a day's walk. From the very nature of the case, scores of these cities were never destined to attract world-wide or even national notice; but from the days of Deborah and Barak to those of the later Zealots this region has been the notorious hotbed of daring and independent spirits, and it was destined to become the protector and preserver of Hebrew letters and traditions for centuries after the glory had forever departed from the dismantled temple and capital city.

Looking back upon Nazareth now, it appears as though no happier selection could have been made with a view to the local environment of our Saviour's developing years. From the hill on which his city was built he could look down upon the crossing of the caravan routes connecting Damascus with Alexandria and the Decapoloi with the coast. During the formative and plastic period of his youth Jesus sat at the center of the world and his shire formed the nexus of three continents. All the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them were made to pass before him. The sailors of the great sea, the merchantmen of foreign lands, the prudent seekers and the prodigal spenders of goodly pearls, the princely retinue, in marriage or mourning or holiday attire, the Roman centurion with his Italian cohort, the Grecian philosopher with his peripatetic discipleship, knights, noblemen, eunuchs, pilgrims, slaves, beggars, legionaries, peasants, craftsmen, countrymen, and outcasts, filed back and forth in endless procession at his feet while he studied out the problem of their destiny and his own. But his own life-plan and destiny, so far as he was Son of man, was more largely shaped by the inmates and influence of his home.

Both Joseph and Mary were of royal blood, being of the house and lineage of David. Joseph, though of more mature years, was not so aged as art and tradition have made him, nor had he known the family relation prior to his betrothal to Mary. The Scripture declaration that Joseph was a righteous man, that he was deeply concerned about Mary's condition and that he was not willing to make her a public example, together with the fact of his unquestioning and implicit obedience to the heavenly visions vouchsafed him; his unrecorded yet nevertheless real and truly chivalric companionship and services on the fateful journey to Bethlehem, while there, and again during the Egyptian exile, as well as his mutual concern with the mother on the occasion of the boy's temporary absence from them at the celebration marking his adolescence—all these things proclaim the character of Joseph one peculiarly worthy of the confidence of

Heaven and the respect and reverence of men. In his mother Jesus had the close and uninterrupted comradeship, throughout his entire life, of a woman whom all generations now characterize as blessed. In her first blush of womanhood she gave him birth. As the Child of divine conception, in whom centered not only her own fondest hopes but the age-long expectations of her family, tribe, nation, and race, she nursed, adored, taught, trained, and shaped his character with a devotion as deep as it was enthusiastic, with a wisdom as broad as it was intensive, and with a dignity and grace as charming and queenly as it was self-effacing. But few readers of literature are as yet ready to declare that Luke was the real author of the unique cycle of poetic songs and sayings which he puts into the mouths of his chief characters in the first two chapters of his gospel. The better understanding of woman's position and the true appreciation of her in the ancient Hebrew cult and the versimilitude of all the references to Mary, not alone in Luke but throughout the other gospels, make it more probable that she was the first to enjoy and treasure up in her heart such expressions, as she is, beyond doubt, the natural and immediate center of them all, while possessing ample gifts of authorship in her own right. Besides the unaffected simplicity and withal the profound insight of Mary, as shown by her reception of Gabriel and his matchless annunciation, there is an unmistakable and uniform trace of high-bred courage and womanly daring, not to say independence, in her that cannot without violence be credited to the inventive genius of the evangelists. The three or four days' journey of her maidenhood to the hill country of Judea immediately after the angel's visit, the high spirit and resolution involved in the journey with her husband to the enrollment in Bethlehem a few months later, a journey equally long but of infinitely greater pains and exhaustion, and the last glimpse given of her in the gospels as she stands by her Son on the Hill of Crosses, while the long-awaited sword pierces also through her own soul—all these clearly portray the high quality of that soul. The influence of such

a mother on such a son is, of course, beyond the measure of words, but the denial of its existence and potency is just as obviously impossible. Rebekah, Hannah, Monica, the mother of the Wesleys, and the mother of Ruskin are as truly sisters of Mary, the mother of our Lord, as was Salome, the mother of the gifted sons of thunder.

No biography of the Saviour is given by any or all of the evangelists, and though John tells us that in case a written record had been made of the "many other things which Jesus did" during the period of his public ministry, and in particular during that succeeding his resurrection, he supposes "that even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written," yet doubtless the real reason why so little is set down to the first three decades of his life is found in the fact that during those decades his normal experiences and occupations were those of a normal son of man. The outcome and climax of this long and quiet period of preparation are reflected in two very notable and fully recorded events. It was after the ministry of the Baptist had been progressing for some time, and its center had been removed from the lower to the upper region of the Jordan valley, that the call to baptism reaches Jesus in Nazareth, scarcely a day's walk distant, and its effect is to crystallize his character into action and he joins the throngs that respond to the prophet. The single phrase which fell from the Master's lip on this occasion sums up and reflects most happily the whole outcome of his life's development and soul history up to this point and strikes the keynote of his after ministry. "Suffer it now," he says to the Baptist, "for thus it becometh us to fulfill all righteousness." The words "it becometh us" are not elsewhere found in the gospels nor once in the Greek Old Testament. The voicing of Heaven's sanction, which immediately follows, only seems to precipitate embarrassment upon the sensitive soul of the well-beloved Son, and he withdraws at once into solitude "during forty days, being tempted of the devil." The significance of the six weeks' struggle which ensued, and its full story, which could only have come in

later days from the lips of Jesus himself, is too obvious to need emphasis and too sacred to be lightly discussed. The one unmistakable and oft repeated sign that the normal process of personal education was not for an instant during those weary weeks tampered with or suspended is seen in his method of meeting each several assault by the use of a paragraph of Scripture chosen and applied with consummate and telling effect. This, together with the fact so naïvely mentioned that it was only "after the devil had departed from him" that "angels came and ministered unto him," clearly shows the truth of the Scripture where it says, "Though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered."

The close kinship of Jesus to several of his apostles as well as to John the Baptist is not without its suggestion as indicating the social status of his family. Mary's relation to Elisabeth allied her by marriage at least, if not by blood, to the priestly tribe of Levi, while Joseph's brother Alpheus, or Cleopas, as is held by some, was father of James the less, of Joseph, of Judas not Iscariot, and possibly of Levi Matthew, and husband of the other Mary who stood on Golgotha. It was this Cleopas whose downcast mind Jesus went out to Emmaus to enlighten, "beginning from Moses and from all the prophets, interpreting in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself," on the afternoon of the resurrection day. Thus we see a large and versatile and, we presume, well-to-do family the kinsfolk and loyal allies of the Messiah. The family of Zebedee were clearly of good standing and in easy circumstances, as such things went among the Jews of Jesus's day, and surely the intellectual capacity and training of the mind that conceived and executed the writings of John are of the highest grade. That all of Christ's apostles, save perhaps one, were Galileans and that several of them were known as fishermen, and that none of them belonged to the sect or school of Pharisees or Sadducees, made it peculiarly easy for the Jerusalem doctors to prejudice the minds of their contemporaries and very largely those of care-

less readers down to our own day. But it must be remembered that it was the eloquence and logical acumen and unanswerable reasoning of these same "unlearned and ignorant men" that their opponents found themselves unable to overcome, either in their own council chambers or in the more democratic synagogues or before the judicial benches of the imperial law courts. Reckoning at its highest estimate the influence of the power and presence of the Holy Spirit upon them, the distinctly traceable human elements in their apology and appeal rank the members and associates of the apostolic circle as the intellectual peers of any age.

But nearer to him than his disciples or his cousin kindred were the brothers of Jesus. Whatever interpretation is given to the word "brethren" in the connection, it remains that four men of distinct personality, two of whom have left us writings of great originality and interest, were reared in the same home with the Saviour. In the first place, no better proof for the normal development of Jesus's earlier years could be asked than the fact that not until a considerable period had elapsed after he had entered upon his Messianic ministry did his brethren realize that he made any pretension to such a ministry; but directly they realized the fact they felt called upon by family pride and personal ambition to urge Jesus to play the rôle to its utmost limit, and because of the mildness of his response John tells us "neither did his brethren believe on him." So intelligent, however, were these same men, and so thorough had been their boyhood training in the spirit and letter of Hebrew literature, that immediately upon the resurrection they joined the company of the believers and actively entered upon the proclamation and defense of the New Way. James the oldest, by his peculiar gifts and graces, not to say his relationship to the Lord, rose within a few years to the succession and sat as chief administrator above them that were called apostles, while the catholicity of his spirit and judgment, as seen from the book of Acts as well as in his unique epistle, proclaims him one of the chief pillars of the early Church. The letter

which he addressed to the twelve tribes of the Dispersion is now generally looked upon as a wisdom book, conceived in the spirit and constructed on the model of the best extant examples of the wisdom literature of his people. It is marked, from the literary standpoint, by a degree of originality and freedom in the use of Greek idiom which places it high in the class of Hellenistic writings, and there are now and again touches which suggest the Greek classics. The author of this epistle had, beyond question, a distinct appreciation as well as a facile command of vigorous and graceful Greek. Mayor concludes his observations on the style of James thus:

> On the whole, I should be inclined to rate the Greek of this epistle as approaching more nearly to the standard of classical purity than that of any other book of the New Testament, with the exception perhaps of the Epistle to the Hebrews.*

Moffatt's expressions in the same connection are equally strong, though he cannot receive the epistle as the work of James the Just:

> No New Testament writer moves with such vigor and freshness in Hellenistic Greek as the author of James. His book has assonances and idioms that preclude any idea of translation and ally him to the wisdom literature of Alexandria as well as to the Greek classics.†

The youngest brother, as we believe, of Jesus was Judas, the author of the epistle bearing that name. Here again we have a writing of exceptional originality and power, while the evidence it gives of the author's wide acquaintance with the literature of his people, both sacred and apocryphal, is truly remarkable. Its language and style, though similar to those of the Septuagint, have a force and flavor quite its own. Dr. Chase says of Jude:

> He has at his command a large stock of stately, sonorous, sometimes poetical words; . . . more than once he adopts and presses into the service of Christian thought a recognized Greek phrase. . . . The vocabulary of the epistle proves that the author, though a Jew, was a man of some culture and, as it would seem, not without acquaintance with Greek writers.‡

* *Commentary on James*, ccxvi. † *The Historical New Testament*, p. 607.
‡ Hastings, *Bible Dictionary*, article Epistle of Jude.

Under the head of "literary affinities" Dr. Chase discusses Jude's familiarity with both the Greek and the Hebrew Old Testament; his quotation from the book of Enoch of a saying not capable of confirmation until the recent discoveries of the Akhmûn fragments; his reference to a legend derived from the assumption of Moses, and his acquaintance with and dependence upon the epistles of Paul both in language and thought.

Now the fact that two of the four brothers of Jesus were men of literary instinct and originality such as their writings declare, and that they were steeped in the tradition and lore of their nation both in its Hebrew and Greek form, speaks strongly for the character of the environment in which they were bred and educated. To be sure there is a certain untrammeled directness, not to say sternness, of style common to them both, as well as a distinct lack of convention in their manner of address peculiar perhaps to provincials; but the essentials of real culture are unmistakable and a clear-minded and firm grasp of theme stamps them as men of seriousness and power. Their sympathy with and evident appreciation of the processes of nature more than with the artificiality of the manners of courtly society cannot be pressed as evidence of a lack of real culture, but quite the contrary. That utter absence of self-consciousness which marks the blood of princes and that atmosphere of sincerity in which high souls move as to the manner born are clearly theirs. A mere catalogue of the references in these epistles to the phenomena of natural history abundantly supports Dean Howson's statement concerning James, that "there is more imagery drawn from mere natural phenomena in this one short epistle than in all of St. Paul's epistles put together." Jude speaks within a paragraph of a dozen lines of "wild waves of the sea foaming," "hidden rocks," "clouds without water, blown past by winds," "autumn trees without fruit, twice dead and uprooted," "shepherds without fear filling themselves." James speaks of "the surge of the sea wind-driven and tossed," "the flower of the grass" and the "beauty of its face" as "blighted," of

one's "being lured out and baited by his own lust," of "the Father of the stars, with whom can be no parallax and therefore no eclipse," of "first fruits," of "bridling the tongue" and so "able to lead with a bridle the whole body as we direct our horses," of "steersmen at will, by a very small rudder, directing very great ships though driven by rough winds," of "a little fire kindling how large a forest," of "every nature of beasts and of birds and of reptiles and even of sea-creatures" being "tamed," of "the tongue untamable, a never-resting evil full of death-bearing poison," of the anomaly of a fountain from the same outlet gushing forth "sweet water and salt" or "the fig tree yielding olives or the vineyard figs," of "the morning mist appearing for a little and then vanishing," of "the moth-eaten garments and the coins rusted through," of "flesh-eating fire," of "the cries of the reapers," of "the battlefield fattened in the day of slaughter" and of "the early and late rains."

Among such souls and such surroundings as these, then, the Saviour's early life was cast. His father, his mother, his brothers, his kinsfolk, and disciples we find to have been people with natures of artless purity, integrity, and grace. Without affectation, their minds were filled with the letter and spirit of the national literature and, accepting without apology as we do the traditional view as to the authorship of the New Testament writings, at least ten of the documents proceeded from this selfsame circle. If in addition to these we recognize the contributions of this circle to the writings of Luke, both in his gospel and in the apostolic Acts, it will not be questioned that the culture factors of New Testament literature are clearly traceable to the family and familiars of our Lord. As to the question of the measure of culture which belonged to Jesus himself speculation is neither becoming nor can it be unto profit. That the Source and Center of the highest culture among men was himself highly cultured goes without saying. His gentleness, which has made so many of his servants truly great, was native and inbred. The servants have not advanced beyond their Lord. Moreover, while

accepting the Christ of the creed as "conceived by the Holy Ghost" and therefore "very God," it is in his character as "born of the Virgin Mary" and therefore "becoming in the likeness of men" that he is here considered. Thus beholding him as Son of man we must recognize the necessity of growth from infancy to maturity even if we were not plainly told that "he advanced in wisdom and in stature and in favor with God and man." What a happy category is this; how simple and how all complete. And what a fine expression for the fact of culture is the phrase "in favor with God and man." As for seemly speech and attractive personality and broad intelligence and quiet and restrained—though catholic and deep—sympathies and emotions, what son of man has risen to the standard set by him of Nazareth? Surely the soul that thought out the beatitudes, and voiced the "Our Father," and measured men by the golden rule, and told the parable of the prodigal, and proclaimed the "Come unto me," and looked in longing love upon the kingdom-near young man of means, and said, "Suffer the little children," and "Talitha cumi," and "Woman, behold thy son," and "Our friend Lazarus is fallen asleep," and "Let not your hearts be troubled," and "Lovest thou me?—feed my lambs," was the loftiest, tenderest, strongest, and most sterling soul that has appeared among the sons of men. And the mind that met the diabolus and charmed the doctors and taught the twelve and argued the weightier matters of the law and confounded the casuists and abashed the scribes and silenced the Sadducees and welcomed the Greeks was a mind the versatility of which, not to speak of its intellectual grasp of essentials, has been the admiration and despair of the men of brains from his day until our own. But, as he was not born a man full grown in stature, no more was he gifted, as we have seen, with limitless wisdom from the cradle. Though we are told that his hearers were amazed at his understanding and his answers when his anxious parents found him calmly seated among the teachers of the temple, in the first flush of youth, both hearing them and asking them questions, there is nothing abnormal or over preco-

cious in the picture so artlessly traced. As unfeignedly subject to his parents, and copartner with his father in the support of his home and the trade of a wood-worker, it was not until he had reached mature years, apparently, that either his mother or his closest friends had unmistakable outward evidence of the extraordinary process which had been slowly developing within him the character and poise of a great prophet. Like his brethren and cousins he drank deeply meanwhile from the lore and traditions of his people, saturating his mind with the letter and inner meaning of the law, the greater and lesser prophets and the sacred writings, both canonical and extra canonical. His mother tongue was Aramaic, while the sacred Scriptures were in Hebrew and Greek, and he appears to have been familiar with them in both tongues. He brought things both new and old out of their storied treasures. He pointed out their timely and complete fulfillment in his own day. His gracious words and calm and calming spirit enthralled and satisfied the thoughtful, while they confused and palsied the tongues and hands of those who tried to entrap him in his words. And not alone upon the hillsides and roadways of Gentile Galilee, nor yet within the rustic market places of the peasant villages, but again and again beneath the cloistered stoas and among the shady porches surrounding the public pools of the capital city as well as within the outer courts and inner precincts of the mountain of the house did he speak with convincing authority and unanswerable logic as none other man ever spake.

The occidental mind does not easily appreciate the marked stratification of oriental society, and even the democratic ideas which were fundamental to the best Hebrew thought are widely different from those which prevail in the Western world. Though the arrogant Pharisees were deeply learned in the intricacies and traditions of the national literature their narrow minds and illiberal souls reared an impassable barrier not only about the law but as well about themselves, separating them effectually, as a class, from either the processes or possession of real culture. The exclusive and

successful Sadducees, on the other hand, while broadly liberal and even Epicurean in bodily license, were very limited along the lines of intellectual refinement, neither setting nor maintaining any standards in this sphere which the children of wisdom have reason to justify. Probably no distinct section of Hebrew society in the days of Jesus, outside of his own immediate sympathizers and followers, contributed more to prepare the public mind for the reception of his teaching than the Essenes. Some indeed have gone so far as to maintain that the household of Nazareth belonged to this sect, and that our Lord's silence respecting it arises from this fact. The oft-quoted account which Hegesippus gives of James the Lord's brother, and leader of the Jerusalem church, is construed with some show of reason as indicating the possession by that just man of the spirit if not the enthusiasm of an Essene, while such practices among the early Christians as the common meal and their desire to hold all things in common, as well as the early rise of monasticism among them, are all explained in the same way:

> The cheerful confidence in God, the love of peace, the unselfish life, the communism, the simplicity, the acceptance for order's sake of the law of the land and its administrators, combined with contempt for worldly dignities and disdain of personal aggrandizement, the love of one another, the tenderness toward children, to the weak, the sick, the aged, the distressed, . . . the love of purity and solitude as enabling the powers of the spirit to recreate and display themselves, the avoidance of oaths, the doctrine that great truths are not welcome and therefore not beneficial to unprepared persons, these are rare attributes, but common to the Essenes and the immediate followers of Jesus.*

Again:

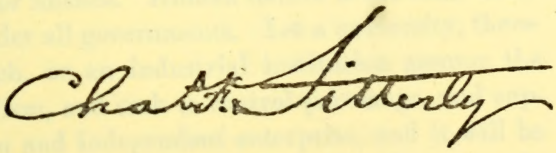
> Jesus was wont to argue, not only in a sublime and generous manner of his own, but also in the subtle manner with which the doctors of the law were conversant. He used the forms of his time, and perhaps would else have been unintelligible, but his own splendid powers shine through. He could not have remained in any sect, and the Essenes, for all their spirituality and fraternity, were a narrow and prejudiced sect, while he manifests the broad unsectarian impress of heaven.†

* Keningale Cook, *The Fathers of Jesus*, vol. ii, p. 58. † *Ibid.*, p. 62.

In these words we have the best that can be said relative to the similarity of Jesus's teaching to that of the Essenes, and they are of value as showing that among at least one important section of Jewish society the elements of true culture were openly recognized and cherished. But the literary test is the ever acceptable and safe method of determining the quality of a man's culture. Does he show acquaintance with the classics of his people? Does he manifest a spirit of real appreciation and reverent pleasure in their reading and discussion? Has he assimilated them unto himself so that they have become a part of him and he in a sense a part of them? In other words, has he so entered into their message and meaning that it is no longer sacrilegious for him to restate and interpret their meaning and message in the terms of his own observation and experience and with an emphasis springing from the viewpoint of his own personality. The soul of whom these things are true is a cultured soul.

It is not needful, however, to claim as peculiar the possession of culture by Jesus; sufficient is accomplished if the thought is made clear that his family and familiars were people possessing and possessed by that charm of gentleness which springs from good breeding, that simplicity of manner which rests upon a background of hoary tradition, and that chaste yet buoyant hopefulness which springs from sources as deep as the heart of humanity. Jesus found kinship in spirit as well as in flesh with the very best people in Palestine. From the time when the Magi of the East offered him their unstinted homage in Bethlehem to that last day of public teaching, when he was sought out in the temple at Jerusalem by the inquiring Greeks of the West, he attracted to himself the cultured searchers after truth. Simeon the saint and Anna the prophetess long awaited his coming in quiet confidence, and having once feasted their eyes upon his face they departed in peace. Nathanael, the guileless yet critical Galilean, having gazed long upon him one day from the covert of the fig tree, announced his conviction that out of Nazareth had come indeed the Rabbi-King of Israel, and forthwith

this Israelite indeed becomes his humble learner. Nicodemus, a foremost and therefore inquiring teacher of the Jerusalem Sanhedrin, having studied in public Jesus's methods as a teacher and the signs which he did as credentials thereto, seeks the Saviour out by night in his lodgings and, after close inquisition, also proclaims him a Rabbi, come from God. And this same prudent and cultured councilor appears again and yet again—now in the stormy debate when none other stands with him and now on the Hill of Crosses when even at midday again it is night—true to his first profound conviction and pressing it home upon his contemporaries, though evidently not devoid of a nature which might itself be moved by fear of the Jews. Likewise Joseph of Arimathæa, another noble councilor and man of honorable estate, comes forward to claim for the first time open discipleship with him and to pay him costly funeral honors at great personal risk after Jesus has succumbed to the dire ignominy of the crucifixion and has apparently yielded up forever his crushed and outraged spirit. Such tribute is not paid by such souls to men of common mold. Both he and his are invited guests at the formal and prolonged festivities of the wedding in Cana at the opening of his ministry, and again at an elaborate symposium in Bethany on the occasion of his last journey to Jerusalem. His frequent presence at feasts and the oft record of his table talk, as well as his common fame as "a wine bibber and gluttonous," proclaim his endowment with social instincts, while his unaffected love of nature, of children, and of throngs of people, his unforced expressions of deep sympathy for the unfortunate and bereaved, clearly stamp the character of Jesus as that of a cultured gentleman.



Art. VI.—THE CHURCH AND HIGHER EDUCATION.

Christianity is the mother of higher education. All of the older universities of the world were founded chiefly for religious purposes. The State university is a modern institution, and is doing a great work. In some of its splendid achievements we rejoice. Some think all higher education, as well as primary, should be given by the State; but the people who think so do not follow this proposition to its logical conclusions. The Church should maintain her schools for higher education even in those States where the State university is at its best, for the following reasons:

First, *For the best interests of higher education.* In each State there should be more than one college or university, except a university for postgraduate work. A few of the latter, well equipped, can do all the work for the States. A university has its atmosphere, its life current, its personality, its molding power; and it will set its seal upon every student who breathes its atmosphere and feels the touch of its molding hand. "Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honor and another unto dishonor?" There is a culture of Oxford, a culture of Yale, of Brown, of Princeton, of Wesleyan, and of Ann Arbor. They all differ from each other, and yet all contribute to the best interests of higher education. To have higher education in any State or States centralized in one great school, having one teaching faculty, one governing body—to make curriculum and confer degrees—would form a kind of university trust that would be as intolerant and dominating in the realm of intellectual development as any company, or guild, or trust in industrialism or finance. Human nature is the same in all countries and under all governments. Let a university, therefore, or a Church, or an industrial institution assume the form of paternalism, and seek to control patronage, and suppress competition and independent enterprise, and it will be prejudicial and repressive to progress. The fierceness in

reforms is very largely the result of the conservative, intolerant, uncompromising principles centralized in special rights and powers. Horace Greeley said, "Political parties ought to die every ten years, in order to give new ideas a chance." If we had but one university to the State, new ideas or educational reform would have a hard time to get a hearing. Even with the number of universities we have, the natural sciences, which are now recognized as cardinal factors in higher education, have had a hard struggle to get a place and be coordinated in higher education. After a widespread revival in the interests of Greek, "it took Greek one hundred years to get a place in Paris and Oxford as a regular constituent in the academic curriculum; and physics and chemistry are not yet fully admitted, though Robert Boyle published his *New Experiments Touching the Spring of the Air* in 1660, Lavoisier analyzed water in 1783, Galvani discovered animal electricity in 1790, and John Dalton published his *New System of Chemical Philosophy* in 1808."

It is apparent to all that there is danger in certain parts of our country of making a kind of guild out of the public school system; requiring every teacher to pass through a certain system, normal and college; putting the emphasis upon so much work done in certain places, in certain ways, and bearing certain marks, rather than upon actual fitness and power to do things, regardless of the place and manner of securing these equipments. The principles of rivalry, of competition, of self-reliance, of independence are fundamental principles in human progress and human governments. A democracy like ours has a diversity of opinions and characters. It must be so. Our progress, our stability, depend upon the conservation of these principles. No political party can command all voters. It would be a menace to civil liberty if it were so. No Church can shepherd all the sheep, no matter how zealous and liberal it may be. Let the Roman Church tell the world a story of zeal and marvelous effort to make a nation have one creed and one Church; and yet the story is one of failures.

There is a certain liberalism in these days, cropping out

occasionally in union meetings, united charities, etc., which deplores denominationalism, and prays for the day to hasten when sectarianism will disappear. Every broad-minded man knows that dogmatism and sectarianism, so construed and adhered to as to keep God's people from cooperative work in the Master's vineyard, ought to disappear. But every man who understands the principles of belief knows that denominationalism is in the blood. God put it there, and it will remain in some form as long as there is a diversity of opinion in this world and a Bible to interpret. The purity of religion and the integrity of the Holy Scriptures depend upon these principles. Bullets can be molded so that it makes little difference which bullet you chance to take, one will fit the place as well as the other. But men, to build a democratic republic, to teach and exemplify the principles of civil and religious liberty, till all nations are safely established in these principles, cannot be made by putting them through one great system of ideas and modes of work. Let those who think we should have one great university to each State, or one great university over several States, study the history of higher education in other countries. The best educated people in the world are the German people. Prussia is perhaps the center of higher education of all nations; for scholarly investigation of the Scriptures, progress in science and philosophy, and industrial schools, Prussia stands easily first among the many. The secret of her progress is found in her educational system. She has at least six great universities, with many colleges, each independent of the other, rivaling each other upon all the lines of scholarly debate and public recognition. They "provoke one another to good works." And yet we have one State more than twice the size of Prussia. How different in France! Previous to the first French Revolution, France was the seat of numerous independent universities. She stood first in higher education, and held the place among nations that Germany now holds. These universities were abolished in the days of the French commune, and were finally replaced under the first Napoleon

by what was called a "Great National University." Between 1870 and 1890 the French government spent about $130,000,000 on buildings and equipments for its university. In 1896 the university was reorganized, going back to the system held before the French Revolution. The result is, there is no variety and enthusiasm in college life. While there are colleges distributed over the republic, yet they are all subject to one governing board, which sends forth professors, programs of study, regulations, etc. The universities lack personality. They are not independent institutions. They cannot sit in judgment on each other, and rival each other, as they do in Germany. The most eminent and learned men in France called for the overthrow of this system. Professor Playfair says, "The unanimity is surprising with which eminent men ascribe the intellectual paralysis of the nation to the centralization of administration and examination by the University of France." M. Dumas writes, "If the causes of our marasmus appear complex and manifold, they are all still reducible to one principle—administrative centralization, which, applied to the university, has enervated superior instruction." M. Renan said: "The paltry faculties created by the first empire in no way replace the great and beautiful system of rival universities with their separate autonomies and systems, which all Europe borrowed from France, and which all countries but France have preserved. We must create in the provinces five or six universities, each independent of the other."

Second, *The Church university is a conservator of our republic.* The American nation was born from the most religious and best trained people that ever gave birth to a nation. All other nations came from rude barbarians or half-civilized peoples, except the Hebrews and the Americans; and these two were born of religious ideas and purposes. Not only so, but it took a powerful and widespread revival of religion to make possible the national union and republican government which we enjoy. I quote from President Warren, on American Infidelity: "Before 1740 the spirit of intol-

erance, jealousy, and isolation prevailed among the colonies. There was neither ethnological, political, social, nor religious unity among them. The international jealousies, civil, social, and religious antagonisms of all Europe seemed concentrated upon a narrow strip of land along the Atlantic coast; shut in between the territories of France on the north and west, and Spanish Florida on the south, bisected near the middle by the Dutch and Swedish populations in New York and Delaware, overdotted with settlements of every European nationality. No two under a common charter. Scarce two had a like religion. Here was a Romanist colony. Near by was a Huguenot settlement. Yonder was a Quaker; and next to his boundary was the formal Anglican. Noblemen and peasants, Papists and Protestants, Roundheads and Cavaliers. There were but two things common to all, namely, Old World affinities and jealousies of each other. Whence could come unity and order out of such imbittered, heterogeneous conditions? Who could make these dry bones live? Toward the middle of the eighteenth century came the fullness of God's time. First, a soul was needed to organize the rich, though motley, elements into a living national body. That soul was communicated as by a divine afflatus in the Whitefield revivals. Its mighty heat broke down the partition walls, and burned up the Old World prejudices, and let a tide of gracious influences roll through the whole domain. The first time in their history the British colonies were agitated by one thought and moved by one impulse. Again and again, through all these colonies, this most famous evangelist moved under divine impulse, and revivals burned like prairie fires. Puritan New England forgot its gowned priests. Dutch New York and German Pennsylvania unlearned their degenerating vernacular. The Quaker was delighted with the Gospel, so simple and plain. The Covenanter and Huguenot were one. The spirit given, the outward discipline came from 1740 to 1762. The French and Indian wars drilled the young nation in the use of arms. The fisheries around Cape Cod prepared the seamen that followed Paul Jones to victory. Old South

Church in Boston was the nerve center of agitation and patriotism; ministers leading the way in debate, and appealing to the word of God and the spirit of holy Christianity for their apology and their defense. Before the Declaration of Independence was drafted Dr. Dutch read the thirty-fifth psalm, which seems as if written for the occasion, and led the assembly in prayer."

Moreover, this nation has been saved at least twice by its religious faith and Christian leadership. Following the Revolution came the darkest days in the history of the republic. The dissipation, prodigality, and vices of camp life had been carried back to the home. The spirit of reckless speculation was rife. The French allies that had come to our aid brought with them the infidelity of Voltaire. The soil of the American mind was peculiarly fitted for the reception of false doctrine. Three men, infidels and iconoclasts, indorsed and encouraged the infidelity of the day. Two were English born and bred, the other was an American; all three doubting Thomases—Thomas Jefferson, President and political leader, one of America's brightest and greatest statesmen; Thomas Cooper, educated and educator; Thomas Paine, social revolutionist and patriot, whose *Age of Reason* was widely read. It looked in those days as if the young republic would fall to pieces for the lack of patriotism and conscience. But the revivals of 1801-3 swept the country from north to south, burning up the teachings of French infidelity and the *Age of Reason,* and gave the republic a new life, a new conscience, and a national impulse. This republic, therefore, is a Christian republic, founded on Christian principles, governed largely by New Testament doctrines. The government prints on its money, "In God We Trust." It appoints days of fasting and prayer. It uses a system of Christian oaths for its officers. It has at different times granted subsidies to religion. Most of our legislatures exempt the family Bible from execution. They provide that each apprentice shall be supplied with one, and require that a Bible shall be in the hands of every inmate of a jail, penitentiary, or reform school. The

halls of legislation are supplied with copies of the Bible. The government appoints Christian chaplains to public service; secures the observance of the Christian Sabbath, and punishes blasphemy against God. Again, in the Ordinance of 1787 for the Northwest Territory of Ohio, the compact entered into between the thirteen original States and the people of the Territory, now composing more than five great States, declares forever unalterable, unless by common consent, that the object of the compact is "extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon those republics, their laws and constitutions are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in said Territory." The third article, which appears in the constitutions of all these States of the Northwest, and that appears also in nearly all the constitutions of the States which have been formed since that date, is in these most significant words: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." This is the language of no sect or political party, but of solemn, national, fundamental, American law. The basis of our republic, therefore, is declared to be Christian ethics. Whoever does not perceive this vital distinction does not understand American history. Every schoolboy knows that when Catiline sought to destroy the republic of Rome he sought first to corrupt the Roman youth; and that when the National Assembly at the head of the French Revolution would destroy religion and the government the first step was to drive the Bible from the public schools and to secularize education throughout. After the French Revolution had run its course a religious society sent from London a committee to investigate the moral conditions in Paris; and they searched for four days through the bookstalls and news stands in that city without finding a Bible. The French republic is based upon philosophy; the American republic, on Christian ethics. And yet the American repub-

lic is the only government in the world that has entered upon the perilous and untried experiment of leaving God out of education; for even the French republic provides one day in five when the children may receive religious instruction at public expense. "We must, therefore, insist on Christian ethics, the fundamental teachings of the word, for right character, or we are ruined."

Third, *The Church university is a necessity in order to give the world full-orbed education.* We follow the general division of higher education indicated by President Nicholas Butler. Every child coming into this world has an inheritance by birthright of five great potential possessions:

1. Literature, which is the accumulation of knowledge and fancy preserved in writing; that vast storehouse of essays, treatises, and histories which preserve the results of observation, thought, or fancy, and which are stored up like great reservoirs in the libraries and universities in the land. No education is complete that does not introduce the student to his possession of literature.

2. The student has a great inheritance in nature, or natural science. He comes in contact first with the world of wonders. He is surrounded with riddles and contradictions. He is really in a wonderland. "The very riches that God has bestowed upon the child in nature confuse him, awe him, overcome him, unless the key to the physical world and its phenomena is put in his hand. He should walk like the Greek in nature, with wonder, and awe, and worship; but, unlike the Greek, he should go armed with all the resources of modern scientific methods and all the facts acquired by modern research." No education is full-orbed that does not lead the student into his inheritance of science.

3. The child comes into the world as a part of a family, inheriting share and share alike with other members of the home. He is owner by birthright of certain stock in a great company. He is the heir of a larger life, growing out of his relationship to his fellow-men, an institutional life, which affords protection and advantages in family, social,

business, and political life. Halfway between the anarchy of Rousseau, growing out of a self-centered life, and the collectivism and stagnation of China, growing out of the loss of the individual in the national life, is the law of liberty, allowing a field for every human activity to develop and enrich without pulling down its fellow-man, cooperating toward a common end. No higher education can be complete that does not include and give the student a right comprehension and certain preparation for institutional life.

4. The child has a great inheritance of art and æsthetics. The air he breathes is filled with music. He is the child of poetry and of song. The beauty in nature is his, the picturesque and the sublime. Our forefathers sought to exclude this great factor from their systems of education. They confined themselves to the useful and industrial arts. But the soul broke away from such unnatural restraints, and sang to itself, in hours of joy or sadness, sweeter music than ever the Sirens sang. It lifted the dome of the temples and carved them with beautiful images. It sought to put its higher and nobler aspirations on canvas and in stone. No education is complete that does not give the student an introduction to his inheritance of art and music and poetry and song.

5. And most important of all is religion, Christian evidences, Christian ethics. No education is full-orbed that leaves God out. The child has an inheritance and birthright in the kingdom of God; and the education that fails to lead the student into the possession of this birthright is fatally defective. President Gilman, of Johns Hopkins, says: "I believe that standing firm on the postulates, God, soul, and immortality, education will in years to come disentangle many perplexities and lead the mind to purer and nobler conceptions of righteousness and duty. I believe that the ethics of the New Testament will be accepted by the scientific, as well as the religious faculties of men, by the former as law, by the latter as Gospel." President Nicholas Butler says: "Religious teaching is rapidly passing out of education entirely; and the familiarity with the English Bible, as the greatest

classic of our tongue, that every cultivated man owes it to himself to possess, is becoming a thing of the past. And yet the religious element may not be permitted to pass wholly out of education, unless we are to cripple it and render it hopelessly incomplete. The religious element of human culture is essential. It must be presented to every child whose education aims at completeness." Joseph Cook says: "Every gap in higher education is an inlet to unsound conviction. A college education ceases to be a liberal education when the Christian evidences are left out. That curriculum is no more complete than the human form is without shoulders and head. There is a hierarchy of science, leading up naturally to the highest themes of philosophy and ethics; and it is not too much to affirm that the colleges that are careless to the degree of cutting off the teaching of God are headless trunks, they are torsos that never will have life to carry civilization through the future with safety."

Any character that is educated in one, two, three, or four of these divisions of human learning, without the fifth, has an imperfect education. To leave Christian ethics out of education is to leave education without a fundamental basis. There can be no character without morals, and no morals without religion. The State can teach literature as well as the Church, except history. No man can teach history intelligently who does not believe in God, for history is but the record of God's providences. As Humboldt said, "History is not intelligible without the idea of a higher governing power." The State can teach institutional life, or democracies, as well as the Church. The State can teach art as well as the Church. But the State cannot teach full-orbed science as well as the Church, unless the State puts a Christian teacher in the chair of science. No man can teach biology intelligently who does not believe in God as the source of life. A student can be led to God by a teacher of natural science. But the teacher who substitutes force for God, or rationalistic evolution for theistic evolution, is sure to confuse if he does not lead away from a belief in God and obedience to the

teachings of Christ. "The twentieth century is to witness a gigantic conflict of spirits, for man has undertaken the gigantic effort of interpreting the whole world and all things that are therein, in their origin, essence, and end, on what are called purely and strictly scientific principles; that is, without God, simply and alone from the pure data of matter and force." Here is our dilemma. Beginning with the public school system and going to the university supported by the State, we face the fact that the State is obliged to educate all children for her own protection against the dangers of illiteracy; and the State must, so far as her schools are supported by taxation, refuse to allow any distinctive sectarian religion or formulas taught at public expense. And yet we face a greater danger, namely, criminal literacy, for morality without religion has not saving power. Mr. Huxley, the great naturalist and rationalist, said: "I hold that any system of education which attempts to deal only with the intellectual side of a child's nature, and leaves the rest untouched, will prove a delusion and a snare, just as likely to produce a crop of unusually astute scoundrels as anything else. In my belief, unless a child be taught not only morality, but religion, education will come to very little." The Bible has gone from the public schools, and so long as conditions remain as they are the Bible cannot be taught at public expense. A democracy like ours must exclude what would seem to be a sectarian bias, giving to one denomination the advantage over another, or teaching a faith to children or students at public expense, contrary to the faith of the parents. But there may come a day, and the signs of the times indicate that the day is coming rapidly, when Romanists and Protestants, good citizens who are non-Churchmen, Hebrews and Gentiles alike, will understand each other better and have a greater regard for each other's opinions. They will see the absolute necessity of teaching certain great fundamental doctrines from the word of God which underlie right character and the stability of civil governments. When that day comes parts of the Bible will be used as a text-book in public schools; chairs in

State universities will be set apart to teach the fundamental principles of Christianity, if State universities are to continue in favor; and men will be chosen, not to teach the doctrines of a sect, but to be the expositors of the cardinal doctrines of the Bible. We will then do as Germany is doing.

There began an educational reform in Germany about 1776, by such men as Johann Bernhard Basedow, writer on education, and founder of the Basedow institutions. With him were such men as Saltzmann and Campe, and such books as Rousseau's *Emile*. These reform movements drove the Bible from the schools in Germany, but after eighty years of trial and a most searching debate Germany decided that "A balanced educational science must rest on a positive Christian foundation." Pestalozzi said, "I consider a thorough knowledge of the scriptural histories, and especially of the life, suffering, and death of Jesus Christ, and the study of the sublimest passages of the Bible with a childlike believing spirit, the beginning and essence of what is necessary for religious instruction; and then, above all things, a fatherly care to make the child feel the worth of prayer offered in faith." Germany, the most learned land on the globe, divided between Catholic and Protestant, infidel and believer, scouts the idea that the Bible is to be excluded from the common schools and colleges. Four or five hours of religious instruction per week are absolutely required in every German school, and no man can qualify as a teacher without passing an examination in the study of the Scriptures. There is not another country in the world where religious instruction is so systematically and thoroughly given as in Germany. The principal function of the German school is officially declared to be "the making of God-fearing, patriotic, self-supporting citizens."

Fourth, *The Church university is a necessity to furnish the best conditions for student life.* The atmosphere and the teacher of a college mean so much, especially in the undergraduate work. The Church, therefore, must furnish the Christian teacher. If the teacher is an infidel, a freethinker,

a rationalist, or a believer in the "Development Theory," he will carry his unbelief into the schoolroom. No man can divest himself of his opinions. He cannot, for prudence' sake, suppress his belief. Ruskin said, "A Frenchman cannot paint a picture, because he cannot keep himself out of it." So no man can leave his belief or misbelief out of his life and teaching. The advocates of a purely secular education tell us we should form guilds and build apartment houses around the secular institutions; that we should provide Young Men's Christian Associations and other good agencies for creating an atmosphere that will be protective and stimulating in the student body. But the chief difficulty cannot be reached by outside influences. The danger is not so much in the student body as it is in the class room and the prevailing sentiment of the teaching force. We should, indeed, go into the secular institutions with the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, and other religious agencies, and do all we can to prevent the young Christian from losing his faith and loyalty, and to bring students who are not Christians into the way of belief and life. But it is impossible, by these or any other outside agencies, to counteract the poison that a student may get in the class room, or neutralize the moral miasma he breathes in the very atmosphere created by teachers who hold the atheistic "Development" theory. With these teachers there is no place for separate creation, for providence or prayer, for miracle or immortality. "Language, religion, morality, art, science, law, history, and all the rest which we have derived from the word of God and Christian civilization are but the products of change of matter, the results of circumstances," according to the "Development Theory." Mr. Darwin says, "If animals were educated as men, they would be men." "Fate or accident alone, whichever you please to call it, has determined it otherwise." The Church cannot free itself from the obligation of furnishing opportunities in higher education, equal to the best, for her own sons and daughters.

Fifth, *The Church university offers the best investments.*

Horace Greeley said when dying: "Fame is a capricious thing. To-day men praise you; to-morrow, curse you. Riches take wings and fly away. There is but one thing immortal—character." There are many who believe, as Mr. Stead says, that the greatest result growing out of the Crimean War was the attraction to Constantinople of Mr. Christopher Robert, a plain, good citizen from New York, who founded Robert College, which afterward made the men who framed the constitution and led the Bulgarian people to a democratic sentiment and a national hope, after the treaty of Berlin had given to these people the right of self-government. The millions of the Ottoman Empire depend more to-day upon this little college for light and leadership in the new century than upon any other human organization or institution. Mr. Robert's money is lifting a nation. In some respects the most important work of the Church is educational, and the denomination without a college will disappear. A gift going into a college goes into the character of young men and young women, who, in turn, become examples and teachers in all vocations of life. The benefactor goes through the stored energies in his gift, and may say to the beneficiary, as Jesus said, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end."

W. A. Hickman.

Art. VII.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOETHE'S ETHICAL AND RELIGIOUS VIEWS.

Not many years ago there was published by a German pastor a work of uncommon interest on Goethe's religious development. The book* made a strong claim that Goethe was religious in the best sense, approaching the Christian ideal, and confessing to Protestantism. The author, Pastor Filtsch, took issue with the then prevalent view, that Germany's greatest poet is an unsafe guide for the immature and unformed. His own experience had proved the contrary. When a young man, "erring in the mists of doubt," he had been "helped by Goethe to build up again a shattered world." The pastor wished that the great poet should lead others, as he had been led himself, out from the gloom of pessimism to the light of faith and Christianity. The work of Filtsch was not the first† nor the only one of its kind, but one particularly forceful. It was extensively reviewed, and though the skeptical shook their heads, regarding Goethe as an odd mediator ("ein etwas seltsamer Mittelsmann"‡) in religious matters, no one could fail to be impressed by the accuracy, the inspiration, and elevating tendency of the book. The subject of Goethe's religion has been before men's minds in Germany for the past ten years, and the favorable reception given such a book as the one mentioned is but another evidence of a strong undercurrent of faith which is sweeping over Germany, a reaction against a long era of skepticism.

It has been traditional in the past to call Goethe a pantheist; Goethe scholars of the present day, however, know that the subject of Goethe's philosophy cannot be disposed of so briefly. Aided by the opening of the Weimar archives in

* *Goethes religiöse Entwickelung.* Ein Beitrag zu seiner inneren Lebensgeschichte. Von Dr. Eugen Filtsch, ev. Pfarrer in Bukarest. Gotha, Perthes, 1894. (Eine neue Bearbeitung seiner 1879 in *Zillers Jahrbuch für Pädagogik* erscheinene Doktordissertation.)

† Compare, for example, Heinzelmann, W., *Goethes religiöse Entwickelung*, 1893; Harnack, *Goethe in der Epoche seiner Vollendung*, 1887; Zweiter Abschnitt.

‡ *Jahresberichte für Neuere Deutsche Litteraturgeschichte*, 1894, iv, 8a, 42.

1887, the publication of the new Weimar edition of Goethe's works, letters, and journals, and the flood of Goethe literature that followed in its wake and flows unceasingly on, scholars of the present have become more confident of possessing a complete view of the total range of Goethe's master mind, and they have more resolutely advanced upon the difficult problem of establishing what was Goethe's criticism of life, his philosophical thinking, his ethical and religious views, in fact all that is embraced in the word "Weltanschauung."

The first striking impression that one receives on viewing Goethe's wide range of literary, epistolary, and conversational "confessions" is that he never stood still. He was ever changing, developing, growing; "ein Werdender" he loved to call himself to the last year of his life. Reflecting upon these changes in himself Goethe says in his *Maxims in Prose:** "To every age of man there corresponds a certain philosophy. The child appears as a realist; for it is as much convinced of the reality of its apples and pears as of its own existence. The youth, assailed by inner passions, must fix his attention upon himself, must anticipate himself ["sich vorfühlen"], he is changed to an idealist. In manhood, on the other hand, he has every reason to become a skeptic. He does well to doubt whether the means that he has chosen for his end be the best before acting; after action he has cause to keep his reasoning powers movable, so that he may not have to regret a wrong decision afterwards. The old man, however, will always confess to mysticism; he sees that so much seems to depend upon chance; the irrational succeeds, the rational fails, fortune and misfortune appear unexpectedly on an equality; so it is, so it was, and old age takes comfort in Him who is, who was, and ever shall be." A similar passage occurs in his *Conversations with Eckermann,* where Goethe compares the history of Indian philosophy to the development in the individual of a life-philosophy, the stages being the real-

* *Sprüche in Prosa*, Ethisches vii, No. 629. The similar passage is found in *Eckermanns Gespräche mit Goethe*, vol. ii, p. 71, under date of February 17, 1829.

ism or sensualism of childhood, the idealism of youth, the skepticism of manhood, the mysticism of old age. Goethe was undoubtedly conscious of such changes in himself, and we can roughly mark periods in his development. The idealism of youth we may consider closed at about 1780, when his closer acquaintance with the philosophy of Spinoza ushered in the period of skepticism. The year of Schiller's death would make a convenient date for the beginning of the period of mysticism, which would extend to Goethe's death in 1832.

Born in Frankfort-on-the-Main, in 1749, the poet was brought up under strong religious influences. His mother and a circle of intimate friends early instructed him in the Bible. To them, as in all Protestant families, the Bible was not only an ethical teacher, the revelation of religious truth, it was also an educational factor, taking the place of all arts, histories, and sciences. The young learned to read therefrom, the father inscribed on its first blank pages the events of family history, and every word of the text was reverently regarded as literal, infallible truth.*

At the age of nineteen, returning home from the University of Leipsic on account of a very serious illness, Goethe's intimate acquaintance with Fräulein von Klettenberg marked an epoch in his life. This lady was a member of the society of Moravians in Frankfort, and her religion of faith and feeling, communion with the Spirit, and trust upon "meinen treuen, unsichtbaren Führer," made a deep impression upon the young convalescent. He later erected in her honor a lasting monument in the sixth book of *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, "Die Bekenntnisse einer schöner Seele," which deserves very high rank as devotional literature. Subsequently Goethe became acquainted with Herder and, through him, with the works of Haman, the "wizard of the North." They filled him with admiration for the Old Testament as literature. With them and Lavater, the eloquent preacher, and

* Illustrations of how thoroughly the spirit and language of the Bible entered into Goethe's thought and work may be seen in Victor Hehn's essay, "Goethe und die Sprache der Bibel," *Goethe Jahrbuch*, 1885. Reprinted in Hehn, *Gedanken uber Goethe*. Berlin, 1895; 3d edition.

author of the *Physiognomies,* the young Goethe, opposed the rationalism of the eighteenth century, and in such fragments as "Briefe des Pastors zu . . . an den neuen Pastor zu" he preaches a religion of feeling, "ein Gefühlschristentum." As a pupil of Rousseau, however, Goethe applauded the French philosopher's attacks on the doctrine of original sin and shared his enthusiasm for nature, his opposition to dogma. Thereby he clashed with his friend Lavater, who divided all mankind into two classes, Christians and atheists, and numbered Goethe not among the former. The period before his going to Weimar, in 1775, was Goethe's epoch of "Sturm und Drang," which meant a revolt against existing traditions in literature and art, against dominant political, social, and religious institutions. It was the high tide of individualism, in which young aspirants, scarcely out of their teens, accused the world of being out of joint; yet not being clear in their own minds as to what could be done to improve existing conditions, they accomplished nothing toward reform, the revolution was one of words, not of deeds. The lack of clear vision and definite aim was likewise evident in the young Goethe; his idealism was beyond question, yet we may accept the calm critical estimate of him made by Kestner, the original of Albert in *Werthers Leiden:* "Goethe is not yet settled as to a philosophy of life. He strives earnestly after truth, yet values more the conscious feeling of truth than the demonstration of it."

The passions of "storm and stress" were subdued in Weimar by the responsibilities of office, the daily routine of professional duties, the intellectual awakening produced by the study of Spinoza. Whether Goethe ever made a complete systematic study of Spinoza is a very doubtful matter, yet his friends Herder and Jacobi, and above all Frau von Stein, made the study attractive to him. He was impressed by two phases of the ethical teaching of Spinoza—its calming influence and the boundless unselfishness of pantheism. His former sentimental worship of nature, under the influence of Rousseau, recognized a bond of brotherhood with all the forms of living

creation; that idea, a sentiment, now became a conviction, a scientific theory of the close relationship of every variety of animate creation. Goethe plans to devote his whole life to the pursuit of nature study. His enthusiasm for the philosophy that has been as a revelation to him is expressed in some of his letters: "Spinoza proves not the existence of God; existence is God. And if others for that reason rebuke him with the phrase 'atheum,' I should like to name and extol him as 'Theissimum' and 'Christianissimum.' "*

Goethe was by no means an amateur in science, as Emerson† chose to call him, but a most persevering searcher after scientific truth, a discoverer and thinker in advance of the scientists of his time. Helmholtz,‡ after acknowledging Goethe's contributions to science, says that Goethe looked upon nature as a poet who sees before him a great work of art, mayhap a tragedy with its characters in action, out of which he seeks to construct the central ideas and artistic principles. And indeed Goethe thought no object grander than, reading from the open book of nature, to establish the unity, harmony, and simplicity of nature. He undoubtedly gave expression to the theory of movement and evolution in nature, but it is incorrect to speak of him as anticipating the work of Darwin. The position taken by Otto Harnack§ and Steiner|| on this point seems secure: that Goethe must be considered independently, that he puts questions merely that Goethe's theory of development, as far as he had any, might be called a theory of transmutations ("Transmutationstheorie"), not a theory of descent ("Descendenztheorie").

Continuing the examination of what was here called Goethe's skeptical period, we find that in pursuance of his ideal of self-culture he goes to Italy for two years. When he returned to Weimar, in 1788, he grew homesick for the clas-

* Letter to Jacobi, June 9, 1785.

† "Goethe; or, The Writer," Emerson's *Representative Men.*

‡ Helmholtz, *Ueber Goethes Naturwissenschaftliche Arbeiten.* Holt & Co. (German Scientific Monographs.)

§ Harnack, *Goethe in der Epoche seiner Vollendung*, p. 102.

|| *Goethes Weltanschauung.* Von Rudolf Steiner. Weimar, 1897. Compare, by the same author, the introductions and notes to his edition of the scientific works of Goethe in Kürschner's *Deutsche Nationallitteratur.*

sical scenes he had left. The literary works he published reflected a high ideal, that of Greek art and literature, but they were not understood; his *Iphigenie* and *Tasso* were not appreciated. He chafed under the restrictions which provincial Weimar laid upon its residents. Estrangements from friends followed, especially after his making the lowborn Christiane Vulpius his wife against the wishes of polite society and without the sanction of the Church. His *Roman Elegies* gave very great offense. There Lucretius appears as his ideal, and in a letter to Count Stolberg he confessed that he was more or less inclined toward the Epicurean philosophy of Lucretius and restricted all his pretensions to the sphere of earthly life. "Der grosse Heide in Weimar" was a phrase that expressed Germany's disappointment in her great poet. He characterized himself as an unbending realist, "ein steifer Realist." But a change took place in Goethe in reference to a sterner view of moral questions, a change which in great measure was due to the study of Kant. Abhorring the speculations of philosophy Goethe instinctively shrunk from mastering *The Critique of Pure Reason,* but *The Critique of Practical Reason* and *The Critique of the Power of Judgment* Goethe made a part of his intellectual equipment. The study of Kant was made attractive to him by an admirer of Kant's philosophy, the poet Schiller, whose strenuous life presented an application of stern moral law and stimulated Goethe to renewed intellectual and literary effort. Goethe felt a certain patriotic pride in Kant, acknowledged his services to the world and to himself, and when asked by Eckermann many years after* who ought to be called the greatest of the German philosophers he said: "Kant is the most distinguished, beyond any doubt. He, too, is the one whose teaching has continued to be operative and has most deeply penetrated German culture."

In his letters† to Jacobi, about the end of the century, Goethe speaks of himself as no longer the "rigid idealist."

* *Eckermanns Gespräche mit Goethe*, vol. i, 242.

† *Goethes Briefe.* Weimar. Ausgabe No. 3412 (October 17, 1796); No. 4172 (January 2, 1800).

An approach to theism and Christianity came through new cultural influences and this marks the last epoch, that of Goethe's mysticism. Strong influences working in this direction were, first, the German romantic enthusiasm for the Middle Ages, its religion and culture, its symbolism and mysticism; secondly, the oriental influence which followed the opening up of India and acquainted the world with the treasures of Indian literature and philosophy. "Zuletzt müssen wir uns zu einem religiös vernünftigen Islam bekennen," writes Goethe to Marianne von Willemer (1820), who inspired in Goethe an Indian summer of song, the collection of lyrics, *Westöstlicher Divan.* A third influence, equally strong but frequently overlooked, was the religious training which the poet had received in his youth at home, in Frankfort, which reasserted itself with vigor in his old age. Otto Harnack, in his suggestive, fundamental study: "Goethe, in der Epoche seiner Vollendung," calls the period following Schiller's death (1805), and more specifically the last twenty years of the poet's life, the period of his completion. This does not mean that Goethe's growth ceased at any time, for his faculty of assimilating culture was never impaired, but it means that in those last twenty years Goethe's views and judgments were no longer subject to radical changes. If we wish to study Goethe's *Weltanschauung* it is the latter period which is most worthy of attention. This view is opposed by some Goethe scholars, such as Steiner* and Meyer,† who see the representative period of Goethe's intellectual life in that which has been called here the skeptical. The followers of Haeckel would see in Goethe's mysticism but another illustration of the weakening of a great mind which has passed maturity and enters senility. An American Goethe scholar‡ has very properly said, "It is not possible to select any one period of Goethe's intellectual history, any one phase of his

*Steiner, Rudolf, *Goethes Weltanschauung*, pp. 80-83.

†R. M. Meyer, *Euphorion*, I, pp. 622-5 (Review of Filtsch); compare, also, *Goethe Preisgekrönte Arbeit*, 1895.

‡Calvin, Thomas, Review of Steiner's *Weltanschauung*, *Americana Germanica*, vol. II, No. 1, 1898, p. 95.

many-sided thinking, and say with confidence, This is the real Goethe. What such a dictum usually means is, This is the Goethe that best suits me." It is largely a matter of personal bias, yet it is the bias of the present epoch, to treat Goethe's mysticism very seriously; to study the last period of Goethe's life for an estimate of his life-philosophy. It is the aged master, "Altvater Goethe," who from many a sculptured throne and marble pedestal looks grandly down upon the present generation and impels them to ask, What message does the Olympian sage and philosopher wish to convey?

During the so-called epoch of completion Goethe undertook no new great works, he brought several great themes to a conclusion—the *Faust* in the Second Part, *Wilhelm Meister* in the *Wanderjahre;* he told the story of his life in *Dichtung und Wahrheit,* he poured out his wisdom and displayed his genius in a profusion of aphorisms, maxims in prose and verse, letters, and conversations. The sum of this literary work furnishes abundant material for an estimate of Goethe's criticism of life, though it is very difficult, if not impossible within short compass, to give an adequate idea of the richness and breadth of the poet's mind. The best method of attacking the problem is the one commonly adopted—to quote largely Goethe's own words; to allow the poet to speak for himself. A fitting motto for a discussion of Goethe's philosophy would be his rime:

> Mein Kind, ich hab' es klug gemacht,
> Ich hab' nie über das Denken nachgedacht.

He never subscribed to any system of philosophy, nor did he establish one of his own. In common with most poets and artists he never gave a systematic exposition of his *Weltanschauung.* He has called himself an eclectic, and in one of his maxims* we find a definition of his meaning: "An eclectic is he who, of all that which goes on about him, appropriates that to himself which is adapted to his own nature; and in this sense there is included all that belongs to culture and progress, both in theory and practice." Goethe frequently

* *Goethes Sprüche in Prosa,* No. 448.

shows points of contact with the systems of Leibnitz, Spinoza, and Kant, even uses their terminologies, but this is done to avoid the necessity of inventing terms of his own when serviceable words already exist. He does not mean thereby to subscribe to any system. His eclecticism is further shown in a passage,* frequently quoted, from a letter to Jacobi: "For my part, with the manifold directions of my mind, I cannot be satisfied with one single mode of thinking; as a poet and artist I am a polytheist, as a naturalist I am a pantheist; and the one as positively as the other. When I have need of a (personal) God for my personal self as a moral being then he also exists for me. The heavenly and earthly things constitute so wide a realm that the faculties of all beings taken together alone can grasp them." On questions of art and literature Goethe is a Greek, a polytheist; when he meditates upon nature as a whole he is a pantheist, the pupil of Spinoza; when he reflects upon man as a unit in the universe we are reminded of the monad-theory of Leibnitz; when he casts judgment upon practical ethical problems he appears the contemporary and admirer of Kant. Goethe never felt any shame in eclecticism. "The most stupid of errors," he says, "is that of young men with good heads who believe they will sacrifice their originality when they declare for the truth which has already been recognized by others." "To be original means for the individual to find what is right in his own conditions." Goethe was skeptical as to the ability of the human reason to comprehend the riddle of the universe. "Du gleichst dem Geist, den du begreifst, nicht mir," is the rebuke of the Earth-spirit, the symbol of the creative and destructive forces of nature, in the First Part of *Faust,* where man presumes to elevate himself to an equality with the spirit world. Goethe said to Eckermann:† "Man is born not to solve the problems of the universe, but none the less to seek where the problem begins and then to keep within the boundaries of what he can comprehend." He praised Kant for defining the

* Weimar Ausgabe, Abt. iv, Band 23, No. 6471, p. 226.
† Eckermann, i, 156, October 15, 1825.

limits beyond which human reason could not penetrate. He had no faith in a philosophical system which solved all mysteries. Therefore he stood in opposition to Hegel, whose abilities he nevertheless admired. In his Second Part of *Faust* he parodied the younger Hegelians in the character of "Baccalaureus," the petulant, arrogant young graduate who knows everything and is wiser than his teachers.

Though Goethe fled before speculation he resolutely faced the practical problems of life. Already at an early period he had written and acted according to the lines: "Allen Gewalten, Zum Trutz sich erhalten, Nimmer sich beugen, Kräftig sich zeigen, Rufet die Armen der Götter herbei."* "The first duty upon this earth," he says,† "is to measure the course which chance has laid out for us and confine our wishes to this." Within these limits to develop one's individual talents and powers to the utmost, by means of well-directed, conscious activity to develop the life within us to a moral being, an "entelechy," is the right and duty of man. The sustaining principle of life to Goethe was activity. The commission of immoral actions, though to be condemned, seemed to him not as great a crime as the omission of moral actions. Therefore in a conversation Goethe finds fault with the negative form of the Ten Commandments. In the Second Part of *Faust* the hero reaches the goal of happiness through restless striving in the service of man. He does not expiate the crime of seduction committed in the First Part nor does he reach redemption through remorse; the author seems to emphasize this—that because of Faust's unabated striving alone divine grace pardons and uplifts him and his soul is saved. It must be remembered that a change takes place in the character of Faust in the two parts of the play. In the First Part he is in pursuit of happiness through selfish means, the gratification of his own passions and yearnings. In the Second Part the individualist has become a collectivist;‡ he has

* The poem entitled "Beherzigung," Hempel edition, v. 3, p. 55. It was first published in the year 1778.

† *Aufsätze zur Litteratur*, Hempel edition, v. 29, p. 722.

‡ Francke, *Social Forces in German Literature*, p. 536f.

wrested from the sea a large strip of land which is to make homes for thousands of industrious colonists, and contemplating this achievement he enjoys that one supreme moment of happiness, that moment of peace—an eternity to him for which he has been willing to sacrifice all existence. The same altruistic ideal is found in *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre,* where the motto reads:

> Und dein Streben, sei's in Liebe,
> Und dein Leben sei die That.*

"Thy striving should be performed in the love and service of thy fellow-man, and thy life should consist of activity." The principle of activity entered into Goethe's philosophical conception of the universe. In a scene† of the First Part, Faust translates the opening lines of the Gospel according to St. John: "'Εν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος," not by, "In the beginning was the Word," but, "In the beginning was the *deed.*" The universe appeared to Goethe as an activity and a medium upon which it acts; both coextensive and eternal and governed by a rational will. This eternal activity personified is God, the Creator and All-preserver.‡ Intimately connected with this principle of activity are Goethe's intimations of immortality. The few passages following, taken from the poet's conversations and letters, will illustrate:

> The conviction of a continuation of our life arises, to my mind, from the conception of activity; for if I am engaged in unceasing activity until the close of my life then nature is under obligation to assign to me another form of existence when the present one is no longer able to yield a habitation to my mind. (Eckermann, ii, 40.)
>
> I do not doubt concerning a continuation of our existence; for nature cannot do without the entelechy. But we are not in the same manner immortal, and in order to manifest oneself in the future as a great entelechy one must first be one. (Eckermann, ii, 101.)
>
> By no means should I wish to be denied the happiness of believing in a future life; indeed I might say that all those who have no hope for one are dead in this life also; however, such incomprehensible things are too remote to be objects of daily contemplation and thought-killing speculation. (Eckermann, i, 85-86.)

* Drittes Buch, Erstes Kapitel. Weimar Ausgabe, *Werke,* Bd. 25, i, s. 66.

† Part I, lines 1224-1237. Weimar edition. This passage was written about 1800.

‡ *Zur Naturwissenschaft im Allgemeinen.* Hempel edition, v. 34, p. 101. ("Eine Thätigkeit und eine Unterlage auf die sie wirkt.")

In a letter to Zelter (March 19, 1827) Goethe expresses the hope of a future life in which spheres of activity might be furnished analogous to those in the present.

Concerning the essence of religion, Paulsen has said in his *Introduction to Philosophy,** "Religion is not knowledge, historical or philosophical, nor does it appear in the outward acts performed in the ceremonies and rites of a cult, but it exists in a peculiar disposition of the soul, 'in einem eigenen Habitus des Gemüts.'" Religion is revealed in two habitual conditions of feeling; in reverence and faith. Pure religious faith inspired Goethe's immortal lines:

> In uns'res Busens Reine wohnt ein Streben,
> Sich einem Höhern, Reinern, Unbekannten
> Aus Dankbarkeit freiwillig hinzugeben,
> Enträtselnd sich den ewig Ungenannten;
> Wir heissen's fromm sein. . . . †

Faith and optimism produced that nugget of gold:

> Wär nicht das Auge sonnenhaft,
> Die Sonne könnt es nie erblicken,
> Läg' nicht in uns des Gottes eigne Kraft
> Wie könnt uns Göttliches entzücken? ‡

We hear Goethe saying in conversation:§ "However much man is attracted by the earth's myriads of phenomena nevertheless he raises his eyes with longing toward heaven, because deeply and clearly he feels that he is a citizen of that spiritual kingdom in which we cannot deny or give up our faith." Again: "I believe in God! To say that is beautiful and worthy of praise; but to recognize God, where and how he manifests himself, that constitutes real blessedness upon earth."‖ It was Goethe's purpose to observe the manifestations, not to speculate on the nature of God. In speculations he recognized danger:

> Wie einer ist, so ist sein Gott,
> Darum ward Gott so oft zum Spott.¶

In the poem called "Bequest"** human conscience appears as a manifestation of God:

* Paulsen, *Einleitung in die Philosophie*, 7te. Auflage, 1901, p. 268.
† *Elegie*, Hempel edition, v. 1, p. 189.
‡ *Zahme Xenien III*, Hempel, p. 364. § With Müller, April 29, 1818.
‖ *Sprüche in Prosa*, No. 569, Hempel edition v. 19, p. 120.
¶ *Zahme Xenien IV*, Hempel, v. 2, p. 368. ** "Vermächtnis," Hempel, v. 3, p. 192.

Sofort nun wende dich nach Innen,
Das Centrum findest du da drinnen,
Woran kein Edler Zweifeln mag.
Wirst keine Regel da vermissen;
Denn das selbständige Gewissen
Ist Sonne deinem Sittentag.

Manifestations Goethe recognized in all great creative work, such as bears the name of Mozart, Raphael, Shakespeare. To Eckermann he said (1828):

All productivity of the highest type, every invention, every great thought which bears fruit, is in no man's power. Such things man must look upon as unexpected gifts from above, as the pure offspring of God, which man must receive and worship with joyful gratitude. . . . In such cases man is often to be viewed as an instrument of a higher world order, as a vessel found worthy for the reception of a divine influence.

The spirit of reverence Goethe believed should early be impressed upon the human mind. In the model educational institution which appears in *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre** we see the young taught three stages of reverence by means of certain habitual symbolic actions. Those that look upward are thereby accustomed to revere that which is above them; that is, God. Others that are required to look around them are thereby instructed to reverence Nature and Man. A third group is taught the glance beneath, symbolical of reverence of that which is below us—the humble, lowly, suffering, heavy-laden. After passing through these three stages of reverence man is taught to realize that, being the highest handiwork of nature, he owes reverence to himself, a feeling which must be checked and tempered, however, by the three other forms of reverence: humility before God, love of your fellow-man, compassion for the weak and down-trodden. The reverence of self is an aid to Goethe's principle of action; the person who is thrilled with the sanctity of his own life will be awakened to the necessity of self-culture, and of activity also for altruistic ends. Numerous passages might be cited to show Goethe's trust in a providential guidance of human affairs. Concerning the novel, *Wilhelm Meister*, he said that "its meaning is nothing more than that man in spite of all his

* *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, Weimar edition, v. 24, p. 240f.

stupidity and confusion is led to a happy end by a higher hand." In the fragment "Pandora" occur the beautiful closing lines:

> Was zu wünschen ist, ihr unten fühlt es;
> Was zu geben sei, die wissen's droben.
> Gross beginnet ihr Titanen; aber leiten
> Zu dem ewig Guten, ewig Schönen,
> Ist der Götter Werk; die lasst gewähren.*

In regard to the influence of religion on activity Goethe said: "Men are productive only so long as they are religious; otherwise they become imitators and repeaters."†

Closely questioned at different times by Eckermann the poet gave answers as follows:

> The origin of morality in the world is through God himself, as of all else that is good.
>
> The person of Jesus Christ is the revelation of the highest principle of morality.
>
> As soon as one has understood Christ's pure teaching and love, so as it is, and made it a part of one's life, then one will feel large and free in his humanity.
>
> If I am asked whether it be in accordance with my nature to offer unto Him devotional reverence, then I will say, Altogether!§

Goethe's Christianity might be called Arian. For the conception of the Trinity he had neither sympathy nor understanding.‡ The doctrine of original sin he did not accept. With Rousseau he thought Nature had fashioned man without sin. He believed in the purity of man's inner springs of action. In the "Prologue in Heaven" to *Faust* a Pelagian philosophy appears in the speeches of "the Lord:" "Man errs as long as he strives;" and accepting the wager of Mephistopheles, he says:

> A good man, through obscurest aspiration,
> Has still an instinct of the one true way.

In later years Goethe expressed a somewhat sterner view of man's natural instincts, he is willing to concede a degree of natural depravity in human nature, something like innate sin, but only conditionally:

* Weimar edition, I. Abtheilung, v. 50, p. 344.

† *Aphorismen*, p. 352, March 26, 1814. Compare W. James, *The Will to Believe*, p. xiii, etc.

‡ Compare Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, iii, p. 30.

§ B. Taylor's translation.

If viewed from the standpoint of morality, certain aspects of human nature compel us to ascribe to it a kind of radical evil, an original sin, then other manifestations of human nature demand that we concede to it likewise an original virtue, an inborn goodness, rectitude, and especially an inclination toward reverence. This fountain head, when it is fostered in man and springs out into activity, into life and open view, we call "piety" ("Pietät"), as the ancients did.

"Piety," in the sense in which the ancients used it, is charity, this is to Goethe the original virtue:

It is exhibited strongly in the love of parents for their children, also in filial affection; it sheds its beneficent influence over brothers, relations, countrymen; it appears as gratitude toward patrons and benefactors, as kindness toward servants, animals, as love for one's home, native city, and land. Possessing all earth, it rises heavenward; this virtue alone can hold egotism in check, and if by miracle it could at once appear in all men it would cure the earth of all her ills.

Charity, therefore, includes all the virtues of love, faith, and reverence. No one could be more deeply thrilled by the words of Paul: "Though I speak with the tongues of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal." Of a contemporary poet† Goethe said, "He possesses many brilliant qualities, but he lacks charity, and therefore he will never exert influence as he should."

Goethe's view of evil in the world is Pelagian. In the "Prologue in Heaven" we find "the Lord" addressing Mephistopheles in tolerant, almost kindly words. Evil has uses in the world, it stimulates man to activity. Without this leaven he would become sluggish; the opposition of evil is necessary to rouse him to overcome its influence. Evil therefore is a laborer in the service of good.

Such a tolerant view of evil would never have found favor in Germany during an earlier age. The Protestant reformers magnified the power of evil upon earth; its great might was embodied in the devil incarnate. He was vigorous, destructive, ubiquitous—and any human being, however saintlike, might at any moment be obliged to face him in a personal

* *Recensionen und Aufsätze zur auswärtigen Literatur*, Hempel, v. 29, p. 721.
† The poet was Platen. Compare Eckermann, i, p. 161.

encounter. How the martial spirit of Luther militated against the armored champion of hell! How stirring and defiant are the sonorous tones of his great battle hymn, "Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott"! A strong note of warning is sounded in the lines:

> Der alt, böse Feind
> Mit Ernst er's jetzt meint,
> Gross Macht und viel List,
> Sein grausam Rüstung ist,
> Auf Erd' ist nicht seins Gleichen.

Lutherans of the present day feel the strength of the positive teaching of Luther and dread the weakness that comes from an attitude of compromise. Goethe's position of tolerance toward sin, his principle that the omission of good deeds is a greater crime than the commission of sinful acts, these have been pointed out as weaknesses in Goethe's ethical teaching. The lack of positiveness on moral questions is offensive to the practical moral teacher, the preacher. He sees more than a negative force in the Ten Commandments, he preaches the sinfulness of sin. It seems poor justice to him to allow Faust, without repentance for the crime of seduction in the First Part, to receive forgiveness of sins and divine grace in the Second Part merely because of his restless striving toward high ideals of accomplishment. He teaches "the wages of sin is death." He would doom Faust to the fate which Marlowe and the Volksbücher mete out to him. Conceding the justice of the moralist's position we can nevertheless fairly put the question whether Goethe was not a great moral teacher in spite of the weakness that has been pointed out. Writers on Christian ethics of an older generation would answer the question in the negative without hesitation. Thus we find in the work of Martensen* the following dogmatic sentences: "Like the philosophy ["Weltanschauung"] of the ancients, so also that of Goethe is limited entirely to this earthly life, and turns about two poles of personal happiness and resignation. Blessedness and the kingdom of God, however, are things

* Martensen, *Christliche Ethik*, Deutsche Bearbeitung, p. 218.

which lie outside the range of this philosophy, just as the conception of immortality and of a future life."

Any such sweeping criticism of Goethe's philosophy can no longer be successfully maintained. It loses sight of the important fact that there was a development in Goethe's ethical and religious views, a change from skepticism to what Goethe calls mysticism. There is abundant evidence of the poet's return to theism and Christianity during the last twenty years of his life. His belief in the immortality of the soul is proved beyond question. Goethe is a pagan in so far only as he considers speculations as to the future life futile, and aims at a realization of the best and highest in the present existence. His ideal of human life upon earth, however, is the Christian ideal of self-denial and service to fellow-man. Such service is dependent for its value and effectiveness upon strenuous self-development in the individual. Self-culture is a necessity, it is "man's duty to grow," it will make him free like the truth itself, it will increase his capacity for service. Goethe's teaching is by no means the pagan doctrine of the pursuit of happiness while life lasts, a right claimed so eloquently for every human being by the liberty-loving eighteenth century. On the subject of personal enjoyment Goethe once said to Eckermann:

> I have always been accounted as one particularly favored by fortune, and I shall not complain of the course of my life. But in reality it has been nothing but toil and trouble, and I can well say, that in my seventy-five years of life (1824), I have not had four weeks of real comfort ["Behagen"]. It was like constantly turning over a stone, that had to be lifted ever anew.

These words contain the denial of a philosophy of personal happiness. Enjoyment produces vulgarity, "Geniessen macht gemein." To Goethe the wages of inactivity is death; his moral teaching is embodied in the motto already quoted:

> Und dein Streben, sei's in Liebe,
> Und dein Leben sei die That.

A. B. Faust

Art. VIII.—THOSE LAYMEN OF PALESTINE.

In our consideration of Christ's sublime and sovereign personality there are few things that strike us with such startling effect as the matchless originality and magnificent independence which distinguished him in thought, speech, and action. An atmosphere of authority and of conscious power surrounded him which neither Judea nor Palestine can explain. Not the intellectual forces, the dominant spirit of the period, nor all the historic actualities and conditions which then prevailed, can explain that colossal figure which crossed the world's horizon nineteen hundred years ago. With an unparalleled freedom from the slavery of long-established custom, the powerful and venerable traditions of a remote antiquity, and all the influential and fashionable conventionalities which ruled with rigorous hand in the affairs of men, the great Teacher goes on his way, opening a new path for himself in that sin-beleaguered age—a path broad, firm, audacious, and grandly beneficent. In the selection and impressive authorization of the agents who were to be specially intrusted with the proclamation of the greatest message God has ever given to the universe, and their induction into a mission far surpassing in importance all missions in the history of man, we find some features which stand out in splendid isolation from all others. When the great forward movement in the religious history of the world is to enter upon its divine and universal mission we naturally look for its introduction through the avenues and instrumentalities of a system, distinguished by centuries of sacred associations, the original plan and purpose of which were ordained by God himself. Surely He who is to lay down the foundations of the Christian dispensation and equip it with all necessary forces for its far-reaching and transcendent work, will not ignore that imposing structure at Jerusalem, with all its array of high officials, but will link on the perfected schemes of divine mercy to the established order of things which for

fifteen hundred years had been a sublime preparation and patient, comprehensive prediction of Christ's redeeming mission and work. It is, however, just here where surprises await us, and where we are compelled to witness the silent but deliberate rejection of the whole ecclesiastical calendar of the Jewish hierarchy, with all its assumptions, history, dignity, brilliance, power, and fame. The Redeemer's repudiation of the temple authorities, with their prized credentials as religious teachers, and his selection of a few Palestine boatmen, with their provincial simplicity and rudeness, as his companions, disciples, friends, and apostles, strikes us as a policy at once novel and revolutionary, and as the signal of an independence so marvelous that it is difficult to describe. If the adequate certificates for their office in the apostolate had depended upon human authority or qualification, these lowly fishermen from Galilee would have been unable to present any sufficient warrant. "The scribes could boast credentials, such as they were, which rested on a basis that was unimpeachably historic. They were the lineal representatives of those who had been educated in the schools of the prophets, and counted with much pride each link in the chain of their succession. Their training for the sacred office had been carried on in a thorough and elaborate manner. The order was one which commanded no little respect for its high antiquity, and also for the authority which, for various reasons, surrounded those ecclesiastics of that first century. State officialism was on the side of the scribes and their companions as they went forward in the religious occupations of that distant day. The gorgeous temple was a distinct power in the life of Palestine, and the civil authorities conferred on the reigning ecclesiastics just as much influence as it was able to bestow. They were religious teachers with a deeply rooted power and a society that must always be reckoned with. Public honors were heaped upon them, and many of the state functions would have been strangely incomplete without their presence. Fashion bowed to the authority of the scribes, and set itself

to maintain their influence. To spurn a publican and fawn upon a scribe was an elementary etiquette of these times. The counsel of this favored order was sought upon all critical occasions and nothing remained to be said after they had once spoken."

Judged by the temple officials and representatives, the disciples of the new Teacher, just come from their nets and boats, were apparently little more than so many upstarts strolling around the country, backed by no line of influential predecessors, without the prestige of ancient genealogy and the technical accomplishments and famous associations which invested the Jewish religious teachers with so much authority. Yet these comparatively rude Galilean boatmen, without ecclesiastical pedigree or the slightest claim to priestly or prophetic prerogatives, are chosen by the Son of God to be his companions and disciples, and at last are intrusted with the most important message that the heavenly Father has ever given to the human race. The splendid structure on Mount Zion, with all its wealth of thrilling recollection and venerable religious officialism, is deliberately passed by when the forward movement in the history of the ages is to be inaugurated and started on its way. This little society of laymen from the ranks of the common people of Palestine is made the trustee of treasures destined for the salvation of the world. What a charming naturalness there is about that band of democratic disciples of the Lord and Saviour of men! When we push aside the transfiguring spell of centuries of devout appreciation which these unmitered men have commanded, it is truly refreshing to look upon them as they move among the stern, hard actualities of their daily life. There they stand in the first blush of a great, glad morning which has just begun to brighten their toil-stained existence.

From the first days of their attachment to the great Teacher we find them in distinct revolt against priestly organization, craft, and assumption of every form. The Pharisee bred in clerical exclusiveness and intolerance; the

great officers of the temple, with their bitter caste jealousy and contempt of the common people, and the scribe, with his egotism and phenomenal pride of ritual and ancient tradition, were all cut off by a broad gulf of separation from the men who were called by the Redeemer to stand close to the channels through which were beginning to flow the new and beneficent forces into the moral deserts of an alien world. What a disrobing and repudiation of the prince-bishops of the Jewish Church! and how, apparently without a moment's hesitation, the pomp of prelacy and ecclesiastical magnificence, with all its historic precedents, is ignored when this first "Society of Jesus" takes form and becomes the divinely authorized messenger and expositor of redemption's matchless story to the multitudes of this sin-laden world! What a fatal blow at a mere religious externalism were those first appointments of the Son of God! Into the very forefront of privilege and responsibility in his spiritual empire are placed men whose hands had been coarsened by labor, and whose career had been far removed from the loud, intolerant, but fashionable, religious officialdom of that eventful age.

In this study it is clear that the best things are capable of the grossest perversion; so the prerogative of the Jews had become their direst curse, their religious privilege their most deadly superstition; their ritual splendor, through their narrow exclusiveness and abominable pride, their most hardening unspiritualness, and the source of their rejection, humiliation and ruin. The anger and pitiless tyranny of the priestly factions against the Christ and his few Galilean revolutionists are sufficiently in evidence as we scan the written word. No more malignant enemies did this little company of excommunicated laymen have to encounter than the religious rulers of the time. These men called into the apostleship by the Head of the Church were regarded by Pharisee and scribe as so many religious anarchists, seeking to overthrow and destroy the old ecclesiastical régime of their ancestors. They were treated as apostates from the faith of their fathers and as social revolutionists, who by any and every means must be

put down. Then follows the story of persecution, suffering, and martyrdom. Yet the selection of these few peasants from an obscure province less in extent than the principality of Wales, at length finds the grandest justification, and the time arrives when the excommunicated laymen of Galilee stand forth transfigured and crowned with an immortality that an archangel might covet. They eventually become the representatives to the world of the ascended Redeemer: they present the message of divine grace with marvelous power; they pen the records of the earthly career and work of the Son of God; and finally occupy a place of honor in the great temple of human history from which no force of desolation or change can ever remove them. By the imposition of the pierced hands of the risen Lord, these men of humble origin become prophets, scribes, apostles, friends, and heroes, whose rude speech had stirred the world like a voice from eternity. Though dead, they speak in languages spoken by nine tenths of the population of the globe to-day, though nearly nineteen centuries have rolled away since their story first found expression in human words. Their names are fragrant with associations of the most important and blessed kind, and their work goes forward in the best aspirations, activities, and life of the age. The torch their hands lifted in that century of deepest gloom throws its light into many lands. Splendid sanctuaries throughout the Christian world perpetuate the memories and names of those once uncalendared disciples, and their influence is destined to travel all the circuits of the globe. Talk of transformation! Here is one of the most wonderful that time's eventful years can ever bring—the changing these Palestine fishermen and artisans into apostles and teachers who were through their parchments to make permanent in human history the redemptive work of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in a very important manner fix the faith of humanity forever. We think we are justified from this discussion in concluding that many important signals are hung out in the religious history of the world, warning us not to exaggerate or pervert the functions of any office in

the Church of God as some have done, and by this perversion have sought to foist upon men ecclesiastical and pernicious fictions. What may be called the authorized lines of Church officials have never in any period monopolized the gracious inspirations of the divine Spirit, as is abundantly evident in both the Old and New Testaments, and in some of the most glorious movements in the spiritual progress of the world.

Further, it is also clear that a mere formal and unspiritual religious functionalism, no matter how high its past validity and credentials may have been, can never possess any proper authority, though the office may be surrounded by much of earthly splendor; its unfaithfulness to its sacred trust becomes its fatal disqualification, its humiliation, and its ruin. The divine Lord, with a calm and majestic deliberation, ignored the whole unspiritual priestly organization of his nation when he founded and started on its way the great scheme of mercy which was the consummation of all previous dispensations, and chose as his immediate disciples a few boatmen and artisans from the country. And out of these obscure Galilean followers there at last emerged brave spiritual revolutionists who were to command the admiration of all succeeding centuries. Ages of ever-widening influence shall yet perpetuate the names of these once almost anonymous apostles. The grand old seer of Patmos in his prophetic vision of the city of God beheld, deeply carved in the twelve foundations of that fair, everlasting fabric, "the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb."

Wm. T. Harrison.

Art. IX.—WESLEY AND OTHER METHODIST FATHERS ON CHILDHOOD RELIGION.

The appeal to John Wesley on points of doctrine is often met by the declaration that the Bible and not John Wesley is our standard of belief. The implication in such a line of argument is that John Wesley was not scriptural, but that these critics of the theology he taught are scriptural. But, since John Wesley and his modern Methodist rejectors both claim to be scriptural in their theology, who shall decide between them? Perhaps the only answer to that question is that each must decide for himself. No doubt the Bible is the standard of Methodist doctrine, and in some respects it must be admitted that the Bible as interpreted in any given age is that standard. Nevertheless there are certain great principles which distinguish Methodist from Calvinistic theology, and these John Wesley carried out logically. And, while no one should be bound to follow John Wesley slavishly, it ought to be the pleasure of all Methodists to champion his views when they are in harmony both with the tenor of Scripture and the foundation principles of Methodism.

Such considerations as those just mentioned lend a peculiar interest to Wesley's views on the religion of childhood and the conditions under which children become and remain members of the kingdom of heaven and grow as such. To begin with, Mr. Wesley was a firm believer in the possibility of a deeply religious life in childhood of very tender years. He cites many examples of child piety, including that of a child who died at the age of two years and six months. True, these very young children, as also some of those from seven years up to ten, appear to have been rather precocious, and their type of piety indicates that they were in some other respects abnormal; but in those days the pietistic conception of child religion was still quite prevalent, and even Mr. Wesley had not shaken it off. So that if he believed then in the type of piety he describes in the instances mentioned he

would unquestionably believe now in the saner type recommended in these days.

How, then, did Mr. Wesley think of the origin of the religious life in children? That he believed in child conversion is most sure. He gives an instance of a child under eight who knew the day when her sins were forgiven, of a boy of nine or ten who at a given time had found peace with God, and of many at Kingswood school between the ages of eight and fourteen who "cried aloud for mercy" and who were in the "utmost distress," but who were subsequently "set at liberty;" and numerous other instances and remarks presuppose the conversion of children in comparatively tender years. But while this is true it still remains a fact that he did not regard child conversion as a universal, or even general, necessity, as many portions of his writings show. He was a firm believer in the effectiveness of the religious instruction of children, and while he did not hold that all children who are faithfully trained in the nurture and admonition of the Lord are certain to exhibit the fruit of the labors of their parents in this behalf, still he declared that the wickedness of the children is generally owing to the fault or neglect, in this respect, of their parents (*Sermons,* vol. ii, p. 301). It was also the opinion of Mr. Wesley that "the most probable method for making children pious" is to train them up in the way wherein they should go (vol. ii, p. 308), and that in most cases it is effectual (p. 308). That training, he declared, should begin as soon as reason begins to dawn, which is at least as early as a child begins to speak (p. 304). And he affirms that many parents who have instructed their children thus early, plainly, frequently, and perseveringly, have "presently seen the fruit of the seed they have sown, and have had the comfort of observing that their children *grow in grace in the same proportion as they grow in years*" (p. 305). These utterances forbid the idea that Wesley believed that every child needs consciously to pass through the spiritual crisis called conversion except as a result of the carelessness of parents.

On the other hand, he did not deny the inherited tendencies to evil in children. In his prayers for the use of children he teaches the child to say that he is "a child of wrath," "born in sin," and that he cannot see the kingdom of God except by being born again (*Works,* vol. vi, p. 423). And in his sermon on the "Education of Children" he says that if parents find pride in their children and wish to strike at the root of it without the loss of time they must teach them "that they are fallen spirits; that they are fallen short of that glorious image of God wherein they were first created; that they are . . . more ignorant, more foolish, and more wicked than they can possibly conceive—that in pride, passion, and revenge they are now like the devil" (*Sermons,* vol. ii, p. 313). It is true that these passages evidently refer to children of an age far beyond that of infancy, when certain dark passions have grown to considerable proportions. But other passages teach, as, indeed, does the first of the above, that children are born in sin. In his *Treatise on Baptism,* written in 1756, which is one of the few weak productions of John Wesley, he unequivocally declares that "this original stain cleaves to every child of man; and that hereby they are children of wrath, and liable to eternal damnation" (*Works,* vol. vi, p. 16). Nevertheless he does not mean by such language to teach that children must all pass through the crisis of conversion in order to be saved. For in this same treatise he argues that the infant children of believers always were and still are under the Gospel covenant, and entitled to all the benefits and promises of it (p. 17). And because they are under this covenant they have a right to baptism, "which is the entering seal thereof." Further, he says that children are members of the kingdom of heaven, and denies that that kingdom is composed of such only as are *like* these infants (p. 18). Still stronger is his language in a letter to Mr. John Mason (1776), in which, referring to Fletcher's *Checks,* he says that, while it is an undoubted truth that by the offense of one judgment came upon all men, infant or adult, unto condemnation, it is equally true that by the righteousness of

one the free gift came upon all, infant or adult, unto justification, and that the Adamic guilt of all infants is canceled by the righteousness of Christ as soon as they are sent into the world (*Works,* vol. vii, p. 97). Even if we were to assert that Wesley's language as just cited, together with his interpretation of Matt. xix, 14, involves the doctrine of the regeneration of all infants there would be, on Wesley's principles, no contradiction. For he was fully convinced that there was sin in believers, that is, in regenerate adults. It would, according to him, be no more true of a regenerate infant than of a regenerate adult that there is no remaining corruption in him. Wesley felt that the training of children was the training of those who were children of God; and that that training was designed to prevent their becoming alienated from God, and to work that sanctification which is needful for all God's immature children. By nature infants are children of wrath, but by the grace of the second Adam "a remedy for the disease which came upon all by the offense of the first" has been found, though "the benefit of this is to be received through the means he hath appointed; through baptism in particular . . . to which he hath tied us, though he may not have tied himself" (p. 16). By nature children of wrath, by grace children of God, and the latter stronger than the former—this is the doctrine of John Wesley concerning children.

When we turn from Wesley to Fletcher we find the latter somewhat more explicit as well as somewhat more radical in statement, though there is no reason to suspect that the two men differed in their views. Both were loyal clergymen of the Church of England, and they appear to have interpreted the doctrines of that Church in the same way. Besides, Fletcher's writings must, sooner or later, have been known to Wesley in their minutest details, yet he recommended them in the most unqualified terms (*Works,* vol. vi, p. 442; and vol. vii, p. 25). Mr. Fletcher speaks of "infant justification," and in a note on that expression says that "those who start at every expression they are not used to will ask if our Church admits the justification of infants. I answer, Un-

doubtedly; since her clergy, by her direction, say over myriads of infants, 'We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it has pleased thee to regenerate this infant.' " Here Mr. Fletcher argues not only for the justification of infants in relation to the guilt of Adam's sin, but also for the regeneration or new birth of infants. As the note proceeds he undertakes to show that this regeneration is antecedent to baptism and that it is as true for the infant children of unbelievers as of believers. This position is rather stronger than any taken by Mr. Wesley, though the latter doubtless meant the same thing by his language as cited above (p. 8). To the same effect also is Dr. Adam Clarke's comment on Matt. xix, 14, when he says "a great part of God's kingdom is composed of such, *literally;* and those only who resemble little children shall be received into it."

Even more unequivocal is the language of the great Richard Watson. In speaking of the subjects of baptism he holds that prior to baptism there is a "religious relation" between Christ and every child. He also, on the basis of Mark x, 14, argues with his usual vigor in favor of the view that infants are subjects of the kingdom of God. Commenting on the ambiguity of the phrase "kingdom of heaven" he says that if it means the glorified state of his Church it must be granted that none can enter into heaven who are not redeemed by Christ, and who do not stand in a vital relation to him as members of his mystical body, or otherwise we should place human and fallen beings in that heavenly state who are unconnected with Christ as their Redeemer, and uncleansed by him as the sanctifier of his redeemed. And this relation must exist on earth before it can exist in heaven. If infants, therefore, are thus redeemed and sanctified in their nature, and are before death made "meet for the inheritance of the saints in light," so that in this world they are placed in the same relation to Christ as an adult believer, they are made members of Christ's Church, and are entitled to the visible sign of initiation into some visible branch of it. He closes his discussion by asserting that infants brought for baptism are like true adult

believers, accepted candidates standing already in a vital relation to Christ; and that whichever meaning we attach to the words "the kingdom of heaven" all subjects of that kingdom, whether infants or adults, stand in a sanctifying relation to Christ (*Theological Institutes,* vol. ii. pp. 636-638).

Such is the teaching of the Methodist fathers, and with them agree our forms for the baptism both of infants and adults. They are harmonious in teaching that infant children are members of Christ's kingdom. So far as they express themselves on the subject they agree also that infant children are in practically the same relation to Christ as adult believers. And Wesley teaches that children properly trained from their very earliest infancy are exceedingly likely to be pious; that is, this is the most probable method of making children pious. There is nothing new in this doctrine to Methodists who have kept in touch with the pure springs of Methodist teaching. That so many regard it as new simply reveals the sad lack of acquaintance with Methodist thought. And the unfortunate part of it all is that generally those who make the loudest professions of loyalty to primitive Methodism are the ones who condemn such doctrines as those portrayed in this article as novelties connected with a desire to vacate the solemn saying of our Lord, "Ye must be born again." Yes, we must be born again, all of us. But if Methodist teaching is correct infants are all born again, that is, are brought into saving relations with Jesus Christ. From this state they may fall, and, either for lack of religious training, or as a result of wrong training based on an erroneous view of the child's relation to Christ, many do fall. What is here pleaded for is that the child should be taught the truth that it is vitally related to Christ, and if later it makes any change let that change from Christ to a life of sin be the individual's own choice.

Before concluding this article it seems necessary to note our alleged philosophical objection to the doctrine that infants are introduced into a vital relation to Christ. It is the claim that this interferes with the free will of the child. Some have

carried this demand for absolute freedom of choice to such an extreme as to assert that children dying before reaching the age of responsibility cannot be regarded as finally saved, but that, having had no opportunity for a voluntary acceptance or rejection of Christ here, they must have it hereafter. So far as this phase of the contention is concerned it must be admitted that, abstractly considered, God has not given all a chance to choose to be lost. But it is inconceivable that anyone who had the alternative—to be saved or to be lost—thrust upon him would choose the latter. And it is inconceivable that anyone who had lived from infant years to the age of responsibility in the benign presence of Jesus Christ would then choose to forsake him for any pleasure of another kind that he could conceive. So that actually no violence is done to the child's choice. He is simply put into such relations with Christ that he is more likely than others to choose Him. The problem of free will is not along the line of those who die in infancy, but of those who are permitted to live in an environment which develops all that is evil within them until they reject even the God from whom they have received all the good things they ever knew. To prevent their having such an environment God has given to the infant parents whose solemn duty it is to see that the good, not the evil, develops as the child grows in years and stature.

If there is no actual violation of the individual's right of choice when one is taken from earth to heaven in infancy, much less is there any such violation when an infant is placed in saving relations with Christ. For he is at liberty in later life to renounce this relationship if he will, just as, if from infancy left out of such relationship, he is at liberty to choose to be introduced into it. The goodness of God is such as to give the child a right start. The fearful sin of parents and of the Church in neglecting to teach and train children properly is manifest in that it makes this right start, in all too many cases, useless.

Charles W. Rishell.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

DR. BEHRENDS ON OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM.*

It is matter for profound thanksgiving that the Scriptures are invested with an authority which is independent of criticism and which does not require the vindication of scholarship. We do not need to wait until the critics have come to an agreement before we open our Bibles and let them instruct and comfort us. I hope I made it clear two weeks ago that no believers in Jesus Christ need hesitate to use the Old Testament upon which he set the seal of his unmistakable personal indorsement. I now call attention to certain vicious assumptions which pervade the methods and determine the results of the revolutionary criticism of the Old Testament.

Let me refer in passing to the frequent claim that the weight of modern scholarship is with the advanced critics. A good deal depends upon what is meant by weight. The most learned men do not always make the most noise. Newspaper and review notoriety is not always the measure of worth. Some years ago a colored preacher in the South preached a sermon on "De Sun Do Move." It electrified his audience. It secured for him a national reputation. He could have filled the biggest hall in any city. But he did no damage to the Copernican theory. There was no disturbance in the planetary system. He who startles is always sure of an eager hearing and of a wide audience; the second sober thought comes afterward. And the names which are oftenest seen and heard in present biblical criticism by no means represent all the scholarship in Christendom. Among the most famous theological faculties in Germany are those of Berlin, Bonn, Breslau, Greifswald, Halle, Königsberg, Leipzig, and

* When Dr. A. J. F. Behrends died, in May, 1900, he was under engagement to prepare an article, specially adapted to this *Review*, on significant phases of biblical criticism. It is highly probable that no better equipped or more thoroughly capable biblical critic than Dr. Behrends could be found outside the theological seminaries. More than one institution coveted him for a professorship. Death having deprived us of the promised article, we present this expression of his views as delivered to his own congregation in Brooklyn.

Tübingen. In these universities there are seventy-three theological professors, of which number thirty belong to the radical school; forty-three belong to the moderate and conservative ranks, every one of whom is at home in the literature of his department and is supposed to be an independent and well-equipped scholar. He could not hold his place were he not. The benches would be empty and he would be starved out. You will see by this simple statement that the lines of battle are closely drawn. The so-called liberal wing has increased from ten to thirty-four during the last twenty-five years, and the conservatives have been reduced from fifty to forty-three; but in the eight great universities which I have named the conservatives still have an actual majority of thirteen; and such a majority at present means a good deal, while it proves conclusively that sweeping claims are not warranted by the facts. Of thirty-four books in my library on this subject there are seventeen, just one half, from the pens of American scholars and specialists, every one of them conservative in tone, every one of them written within the last fifteen years, with full and accurate knowledge of the most recent literature, and no one can read these books without discovering that these men know what they are talking about. The statement that scholarship is practically a unit for the radical criticism cannot be made good. It is not true of Europe; it is not true of America. The most prominent advocates of radical criticism among us are Harper, Briggs, Toy, Smith, and Haupt. But these men are not superior in scholarship to Beecher, Osgood, Green, Mead, Curtis, Denis, and Bissell. Radical criticism is represented in Yale, Harvard, Cornell, Johns Hopkins, Union, Chicago, and Andover. But conservative criticism holds its ground in Bangor, Yale, Hartford, Princeton, Drew, Madison, Auburn, Rochester, Rutgers, Allegheny, Crozer, Lane, Louisville, Chicago, Evanston, Oberlin, Omaha, and Oakland. Of our own Congregational seminaries, Andover is the only one which can be classed as radical; Bangor, Hartford, Oberlin, and Oakland may be classed as conservative; while Yale and Chicago occupy middle ground and *the mediating critical school is practically conservative.*

At this point it may be well to state what the crucial questions under debate are. When it is said that the majority of critics are agreed in the literary analysis of the Pentateuch and that

the orthodox view is maintained only by a few older scholars, the statement is misleading. The orthodox view is assumed to be that Moses wrote every line in the Pentateuch, including the account of his death, and that for the matter contained in Genesis he was indebted to supernatural revelations from God. Thus defined there have been no orthodox biblical critics for a good many years. And, in like manner, all scholars who have conceded that Genesis discloses evidences of the use of older documentary and traditional authorities in narratives, and snatches of poetry, and genealogical tables, and who admit different layers of legislation in the middle books of the Pentateuch, not necessarily committed to writing by Moses; who, for example, grant that Deuteronomy is a separate book, completed in its present form after the death of Moses, that the priest code is from a different hand, and that Genesis is a fusion of older documents—have been grouped together. But this is the very group where the lines of battle are drawn between the radicals and the conservatives. Orthodoxy has nothing whatever to do with the problem. It is not a question of theology which is under discussion. The phrase orthodox criticism is pure nonsense. One might as well talk of orthodox astronomy or chemistry. The debate lies in the region of hard facts. The criticism concerns the historical value of the documents which make up our present Pentateuch. Questions of authorship, of date, and of structure have become preliminary and subordinate. These very problems are approached with presumptions which cast discredit upon the credibility of the documents, and under whose application the record is reduced to a mass of fables, deliberately invented and forged. At that point the only proper line of cleavage can be drawn, and when it is drawn there the radical critics are in a hopeless minority. Sober scholarship repudiates their assumptions, methods, and conclusions.

Let me state, as briefly as I can, the claims for which the modern radical criticism is contending. The seriousness of that contention appears only when it is viewed as a whole. Moses, we are told, did not write the Pentateuch. Some things may have been recorded by him, but not very much. The Ten Commandments, as they appear in Exodus, are certainly not in the form which he gave to them, and the whole story about the giving of the law from Sinai is said to be a poetic invention of much

later date, to give impressiveness to the Decalogue. Neither the narratives nor the laws of the Pentateuch have in any large and important part come from Moses. The Pentateuch is declared to be, in its main intention, a law book, and its historical material is treated as worthless. The legislation is declared to be the core of the record, and the books were compiled solely with a view to enforce that legislation. An analysis of these laws is declared to prove that they could not have been enacted until about 450 B. C., at least a thousand years after Moses. They constituted the priest code of the second temple, and were for the most part unknown before. But to invest them with Mosaic authority his name was freely used in the enactments, and the wilderness history of the tabernacle was invented to supply a popular historical coloring. The same thing had been done on a smaller scale two hundred years before Ezra, under the reign of King Josiah, when the Book of the Law was said to have been found in the temple. That Book of the Law is assumed to have been our present Deuteronomy, and when the historian tells us that Hilkiah professed to have found Deuteronomy in the temple, we are told that we must interpret this as a very polite hint that the priest had written it himself, in part or entire; in other words, that he had been guilty of a pious literary forgery, in order that by the help of the authority of Moses he might wean the people from their idolatry and concentrate the religious reverence of the nation upon a single central sanctuary. Thus, Deuteronomy is the literary invention of the seventh century B. C., and the Levitical legislation is the literary invention of the fifth century B. C., while in both cases the history is supplied by way of artificial framework. To this latter period also is referred all such narrative materials as disclose the style and point of view characteristic of the priestly writer; as, for example, the first chapter of Genesis. Then there are supposed to be two other documents, older than either of the preceding and independent of each other, belonging to the eighth and ninth centuries B. C.; one current in northern Palestine, the other in southern Palestine, known as the Elohist and the Jehovist. These four documents are said to have been reduced to their present shape by a Redactor, or by several Redactors, who arranged and altered the materials to suit their purpose. Every document has been tampered with in this way, and the critics do not hesitate to

charge the Redactors with both literary awkwardness and dishonesty. This review is enough to startle anyone who has not lost all faith in the ordinary honesty of the writers of the Bible. But I have not overdrawn the picture. In detail, and as a whole, the history is discredited. Some leave a little truth in the narrative; others leave none at all. Even the reality of the Exodus is denied, and as for the narratives in Genesis, their historical reality is surrendered. The calm verdict of Professor Robertson, of Glasgow, whom the critics claim as one of their number, will commend itself to the cautious and reverent student, when he sums up a long discussion on the Pentateuch in these words: "It may be admitted that the component parts of the books belong to different periods, the death of Moses, for example, being recorded side by side with words spoken and written by Moses. It may be admitted that we have three stages of legislation, as represented in the Book of the Covenant, the Levitical code, and Deuteronomy; it may be admitted that these are variations in the laws and an advance from a lower to a higher stage; but all this does not necessitate the assumption that these codes are separated by intervals of centuries. All this, and much more, may be admitted; but all would give to the biblical writers credit for ordinary honesty and will hesitate before admitting that we owe a great part of the Pentateuch to literary fiction. When it is gravely asserted that prophets and the best spirits of the nation framed first one code and then another, with the deliberate intention to represent the history of the past as something different from what it actually was, when the so-called historical books have to be expurgated before they can be used as evidence, one may despair of arriving at the truth altogether, or at once set about reconstructing the history without the aid of these books." And Professor Hommel, of Munich, whom the critics also claim, has recently placed himself upon record in these words: "The more I investigate Semitic antiquity, the more I am impressed by the utter baselessness of the view of Wellhausen." You will have noticed that the critics assume that the Pentateuch is primarily a book of laws and that the history is subordinate to legislation. Read, now, the Pentateuch for yourself, and you will discover that the very reverse is true. From cover to cover the five books of Moses deal with history and the laws are inserted only as part of the history. The historic thread is renewed

in Joshua, carried on through Judges, and pursued through the books of Samuel and Kings. One plain, practical purpose controls the entire literature—to trace the fortunes of Israel from the call of Abraham to the captivity, and the chapters in Genesis preceding the call of Abraham furnish the historical preface to his separation. Narrative is the primary and pervading element. In the New Testament the legal portions are regarded as having been set aside and annulled, but the history is regarded and referred to as authentic. Be the author or authors of the Pentateuch who they may be, the critics blunder in assuming that they concentrated their attention upon the legal enactments. These are woven into the history at the points where they belong, and then the history proceeds without reference to them. It was the story upon which their interest was centered, and this must determine our critical handling of the history which they have given us. It is an arbitrary, unwarranted, and criminal method of procedure to discredit their honesty and veracity in the very field where they have concentrated their abilities and resources.

Passing, now, this arbitrary and mischievous reversal of critical perspective, let me ask your attention to certain other equally unfounded assumptions, upon which the new critics build their revolutionary conclusions. One of these assumptions, to which great and decisive prominence has recently been given, is that the so-called theory of evolution has been scientifically established and should therefore be accepted as a canon of criticism. It has been invested with the authority of the multiplication table; so that whatever does not square with it must be false, so false that we need not trouble ourselves about it. The theory is assumed to be the one supreme law in the realms of matter and of mind. It shapes history, and gives birth to religion, just as it molds the stars. All things begin at the lowest point conceivable, and thence, by gradual stages, they advance to an ever-enlarging perfection. There are no breaks in the process. There are no gaps in the march. There are no interventions, no miracles, and hence all miraculous accounts are scientifically absurd. Man has come up from the sea-slime, and has been constantly rising. Sin is only the remnant in him of his animal ancestry. A fall from primitive innocence there never has been, and the first chapters of Genesis are purely fabulous—exquisite poetry, but historically false. Evolution is the infallible touchstone by

which the Bible and Christianity must stand or fall. But the principle is not logically carried out. For there are many who, while they boldly cut out all miracles from the Old Testament, dare not use the surgery upon the New. They claim that the high theology of Deuteronomy and of the Psalms proves these books to be a late literary product; but they dare not assert this of the gospels and the epistles of the New Testament. They claim that the primitive Mosaic religion must have been very crude, but they dare not say that about apostolic Christianity. They claim that from Moses to Ezra there was an uninterrupted advance; they dare not say that of the history between Paul and Luther. They minimize the miracles of the Exodus, and of Daniel in the den of lions, but they grant that Christ was born of a virgin and that he rose from the dead. Let us have thorough work. And thorough work demands that with the elimination of the miraculous and supernatural in the Old Testament, the same elements shall be cut out of the New. Moses and Christ, the law and the Gospel, fall into the same grave. And the only reason why this is not done in the case of Christ and the Gospel is because the facts of Christianity are so stubborn that the critics do not venture to beat their heads against them. They prefer to be inconsistent, rather than stultify themselves. But that very hesitancy shows the inherent weakness of the claim.

What, now, is evolution? Darwin and Wallace did not agree in their definition and in the scope of its application. Wallace insisted that it did not apply to man. The word has never yet been defined. Everybody uses the word, and presumably knows its meaning; yet nobody seems to be able to give a definition which is clear and final. No magician's wand can play so many fantastic tricks as can this word. It can be theistic and atheistic, to suit the speaker's taste. It can eliminate miracles and it can make them feel at home. At one time it bows God out of the universe and has no use for him; at another time it makes him immanent, omnipresent, and omnipotent, enthroned and personally active in every atom. Renan needed no God to account for the origin of things. But his theory of evolution provided for ultimate appearance of a man who would master the secret of death and life, and who would thus empty all the graveyards of the past, bestowing immortality upon every one of its hapless victims. So that evolution can give birth even to God. There is

no God at the beginning, but there is one at the end. It is plain, therefore, that evolution may be so defined as to provide for supernatural intervention and guidance, and for the most astounding miracles. But the trouble is that these stay only in the definition. Practically they are excluded, and what remains may be summed up in the following items:

(1) The affirmation that the higher grades of being have proceeded from the lower by natural generation, and that all grades of being have a common, natural ancestry. The fire mist has given birth to crystals and to genius, to coral reefs and to the Christian religion.

(2) The affirmation that this unfolding has been unbroken and continuous, without a single gap and without creative epochs.

(3) The affirmation that the result has been reached by the operation of inherent forces, neither requiring nor permitting the superintendence and the guidance of the personal God. The universe is self-evolved, and self-evolved from the primitive atom. This is what evolution is made to mean by its great advocates, whether they so define it or not. It makes the polyp the real ancestor of man, and eliminates the supernatural from science, literature, and history. The common element in all definitions which are radical is the denial of creative epochs, the affirmation that the complexity of the universe, man included, has been the result, in unbroken progression, under natural law, by inherent forces, of rudimentary cells and atoms. The universe has grown out of the atom, as the oak grows out of the acorn. There is difference in the result, but there is identity of method. Now, if anything is clear, it is perfectly clear that this amazing theory has not been made out. There are several gaps which have never been bridged. The universe is supposed to have had its origin in a sea of raging fire, whirling with inconceivable rapidity, gradually cooling and condensing, throwing off rings now and then, and so forming suns and stars. If that fire mist ever contained any living germs, they must have been utterly destroyed long before the planets cooled. Whence, then, came life? It is here; how did it emerge from that furnace of fire? We are told that the cell evoluted from the atoms. We are asked to believe in spontaneous generation. Huxley believed that, but he also very frankly admitted that all the scientific evidence of

two hundred years was squarely against him and that there was no known exception to the old dictum: "Omne vivum ex vivo"—all life from life. The atoms refuse to give birth to a cell; and at that point evolution breaks down. It breaks down again when you pass from plants to animals. The cells look exactly alike under the microscope, and you could not tell which belonged to a maple and which to an elephant, but the vegetable cell refuses to give birth to the animal cell. Break number two. Evolution breaks down again when you try to pass from the animal to man. Self-inspection and self-judgment, the activity of the higher reason and of conscience, the seeds of these are not in the brute. Break number three. These tremendous gaps condemn the theory. Intermediate forms are wanting between the inorganic and the organic, between plants and animals, between animals and man. At these points the transition is sharp and sudden, so that even Mr. Huxley protested against the maxim, "Natura non facit saltum," and insisted that nature did make leaps. But an evolution which must be helped out by leaps admits just what the creation theory affirms, and admits all which it affirms. Such an evolution is in exact agreement with the first chapters of Genesis, which affirm that even man was made from the dust of the ground, but not through the operation of forces inherent in plant and animal forms of life. I have mentioned only three gaps. The great German scientist, Du Bois-Reymond, pointed out seven "impassable chasms." And Virchow designates the radical evolutionists as "bubble companies." The facts prove that while there is truth in evolution the development has its fixed limitations, and identity of descent for all living forms is emphatically negatived. At all events, it is a pure assumption. In evolution, as an orderly development and advance, every intelligent man believes; and in that sense the doctrine is as old in literature as the first chapter of Genesis. But evolution, as a process of uninterrupted differentiation of being, under natural laws, and from inherent forces, is an unproved theory, with the evidence squarely against it.

I claim more. I claim that while, in the realm of science, evolution is an unproved theory, in the realms of literature and history it is demonstrably false. It is not true that the earliest literature of a nation is the crudest and its latest the best. It is not true that the line is one of steady improvement. This is not

true of Greece, or Rome, or Germany, or France, or England, or the United States. Homer never had a competitor. Shakespeare and Milton have not yet been eclipsed. Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle are still unrivaled. Madison and Jefferson were not pygmies compared to our present statesmen. Washington is still without a peer. We are not more skillful builders than the men who reared the pyramids, nor are we greater architects than the men who designed and superintended the cathedrals. We have not eclipsed the old masters in painting, sculpture, and music. Civilizations do not necessarily grow better as they grow older. Turkey, India, and China prove the very reverse. They have been rapidly going down. A book on *Degeneracy* a few years ago attracted wide attention. The picture was overdrawn. But the fact is that it requires the strenuous and continuous exertions of all good men to prevent things from becoming hopelessly bad. The machines are everywhere and always against righteousness and improvement. Progress is not due to them, but to the men who break away from them. There is one force in literature and in history of which evolution takes no account and which it cannot explain. It is personality—strong, self-poised, determined personality. Again and again a man appears who challenges the world to combat, and he wins. It may be Paul; it may be Athanasius; it may be Luther; it may be Jesus Christ. Such men are prophets of God and they inaugurate new epochs. They shatter prisons and set men free. They arrest the growing degeneracy and usher in the better days. They are not the product of blind and inherent evolutionary forces. One, at least, has defied every attempt at classification. He stands alone, unapproached and unapproachable—the Son of Mary, the Carpenter of Nazareth, the Prophet of Galilee. Nothing in Greece, or Rome, or Judea explains him. He was and remains the absolute antithesis of his time and of all times. Evolution goes to pieces when it touches him. God is manifest when he appears. And what is true of Christ is true of every great leader who has appeared in history. Personality dominates in literature, in art, in history, in war, and in peace. Carlyle may have gone too far in his hero worship, in his unstinted praise of great and energetic men. There is moral force, for good or evil, in the people, too; and we neglect that at our peril. Still it remains true that personality is the decisive force in history. And personality is the

absolute antithesis of evolution. Unproved in science, demonstrably false in literature, art, and history, the theory of evolution cannot be accepted as a canon of criticism. Certainly, not at its demand shall I cease to believe and preach that God created man in his own likeness and image, that man fell by voluntary transgression, and that Jesus Christ was born of a virgin, died to save man, and rose again from the sepulcher.

A third assumption upon which the new critics proceed is that by literary analysis and dissection they can fix the date of a writing and determine its authorship, without reference to tradition and in direct opposition to it. But the first of these can be done only by comparison with contemporaneous literature. We know, for example, the style and the spelling of Chaucer's time. If now an anonymous manuscript, without date, should be discovered, written in that ancient style and found in every respect to correspond to it, we could locate the time of its composition. And if such a writing should claim to have been written in that early time and should, upon comparison, be found to employ the style current five hundred years later, we should pronounce it a forgery. The method is legitimate, but there must be contemporaneous literature. The new critics argue from the style of the Old Testament books to the date of their first appearance. But they argue in a circle, because there is no contemporaneous literature. The Old Testament is the only Hebrew literature which has come down to us from the centuries before Christ. It is impossible to determine by literary analysis what is oldest and what is newest. And, in fact, the critics are using this argument from style with less and less frequency and confidence. Vernes insists that the argument from style is absolutely worthless. The discovery of authorship by literary dissection is still more difficult. Let me give an illustration. A hundred and twenty-five years ago the letters of Junius created intense excitement in England. They were a sharp and severe arraignment of public men. The author did not hesitate to attack the crown. Everybody tried to find out who he was, and from his retirement he defied them all. He was evidently a man of great ability and acquainted with state secrets. Men winced under his saber strokes. Had he been discovered it would have fared badly with him. Every art of literary criticism has been used in the attempt to extract the secret. But the secret died with the author and one

or two of his friends, and it never will be known who Junius was. This shows the impotence of literary analysis. If a book is anonymous, no literary dissection, in the absence of historical evidence or ancient tradition, can solve the problem. It must be credited to some unknown man, and that leaves us no wiser than before. If the critics cannot tell us who wrote the Pentateuch, they do not help us much. If they cannot locate the documents, they do not help us much. Their guesses do not make us wiser. If they cannot tell us who wrote the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah, they do not help us much. Ewald says there were seven of them, but he cannot name one of them. He does not help us much. Meanwhile the Pentateuch is one unbroken narrative, in the course of which some things are positively declared to have been committed to writing by Moses, while all of it is said to have been commanded or authorized by him; so that it looks as if he had more to do with it than all the Elohists and Jehovists and Deuteronomists and Redactors combined. Meanwhile the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah have always been bound up in the same book with the preceding chapters, and are found to have been attributed to him as early as two hundred years before Christ; so that the authorship of Isaiah remains as firm as ever in spite of all the critics have said. The literary analysis of assumed anonymous documents is, and must always be, absolutely fruitless, and it has added nothing to our knowledge. It has supplied us with any number of ingenious guesses, but it has not enlightened our darkness with one flash of light.

The arbitrariness of the critical procedure and the barrenness of its results may be illustrated from two examples—the way in which the books of Ruth and Canticles are handled. Ruth is by many critics located at the period of the exile. Wellhausen places it considerably later, after Chronicles, because he claims that the genealogical paragraph with which Ruth ends must have been borrowed from Chronicles. Canon Driver says this paragraph may have been added by a later hand, and claims that the purity of the style points to an early date. In the case of Job, however, no weight is given to this argument. In Ruth it is decisive, in Job it is worthless. Davidson credits Ruth to the age of Hezekiah. Robertson Smith says the language is post-classical; Driver says it is classical. Neither knows anything about it. The Song of Solomon supplies an even more impressive illus-

tration of the barrenness of critical handling. The inscription is part of the text, and in the most unqualified way affirms the Solomonic authorship. It is declared to be his "Song of songs" —that is, the choicest of his songs. It has never been credited to anyone else. The tradition is ancient and uniform. In the second century before Christ the book of Ecclesiasticus credits it to Solomon. Of course, the critics deny that Solomon had anything to do with it. But not one of them can tell us who was the author, nor when and where he lived. They tell us that these things are involved in obscurity. Some have argued for a late date, from the style. Others have shown most conclusively that there is no such degeneracy, and that the peculiarities in the diction are nothing more than poetical abbreviations, or variations belonging to the Hebrew dialect of northern Palestine, where we know that Solomon had a magnificent summer palace; so that the majority of those who deny that Solomon composed Canticles place the poem within a decade or two of Solomon's death, and make it anonymous. This is the judgment of Davidson, Smith, and Driver. And there is nothing harsh in saying that such a conclusion is simply a confession that the critics do not know what to do with the book. Their concessions are so material that the Solomonic authorship is the simplest solution, but this they deny by simply saying that he could not possibly have written it. And this is a fair sample of a good deal of higher criticism. Let me add another example, showing the arbitrariness and the barrenness of the critical procedure. It is almost incredible in what bewildering mazes the literary critics lose themselves in attempting to trace the lines of composite structure. Genesis is the easiest book by which to pass judgment upon the soundness of their methods. With it Astruc began, and its literary analysis has been conducted with painstaking care. In their views of Genesis, too, the critics are more generally agreed than they are at any other point. Genesis is supposed to represent the work of not less than seven men, reduced to its present form by the Redactor. Of course, these men are unknown, and they are designated P, J, J 1, E, J E, R, and one who is not named, whom we may call X. A cursory examination of Genesis shows that the Redactor is supposed to have embodied 65 paragraphs from P, 137 paragraphs from J, 90 paragraphs from E, 5 paragraphs from J 1, 6 paragraphs from J E, one entire

chapter, from X, and that 105 paragraphs have been inserted by himself, to say nothing of 20 glosses. This makes 409 pieces in a book covering 37 pages in an Oxford Bible; and these pieces vary all the way from a single word and a half a line to paragraphs and entire chapters. The result may be judged by analyzing the story of Joseph, as given in the thirty-seventh chapter. It contains 127 lines. The critics assign it to five different hands, and they distribute the parts as follows, beginning with the first line:

Three lines from P, 3 lines from J E, 2½ lines gloss, 1½ lines from E, 7 lines from J, 1½ lines from E, 1 line from R, 9 lines from E, 2 lines from R, 4½ lines from E, 1 line from R, 6½ lines from E, 23 lines from J E, 6 lines from E, 1 word from R, 2 lines from J, 5 lines from E, 2½ lines from J E, 1 line from J, 3½ lines from J E, 1 line from J, 3½ lines from J E, 11 lines from J, 2 lines from E, 2 lines from J, 8½ lines from E, 6½ lines from J, 3 lines from E, 5 lines from J, 2½ lines from E.

Was there ever such a literary patch quilt? Thirty pieces dovetailed together in a chapter of thirty-six verses, and in a story which constitutes a plain continuous narrative! The miracle of Jonah and the fish sinks into insignificance before such a literary performance.

The critics contend that the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth chapters of Genesis contain two originally separate and independent versions of the flood, and in the analysis they claim to have reached substantial unanimity. But even if you confine attention to the first and second chapters of Genesis, from which Astruc drew the hypothesis of two documents, the improbability of the theory seems to me apparent. Here the first chapter is assigned, without a break, to P, who is now located at the time of the exile, though until twenty-five years ago this chapter was assigned to the Elohist, who was regarded as the oldest of the writers. The hand of P is traced into the second chapter, as far as the middle of the fourth verse, when the narrative of J is supposed to begin, and to continue through the remaining part of the chapter. Not uninterruptedly, however. There is a break at the tenth verse, when the Redactor inserts five verses or thirteen and a half lines. Nor is that all. The Redactor has amended J in thirteen places, by inserting the word God after the word Lord, for the phrase is "the Lord God," which, according to the present theory, the Jahvist could not have written. He wrote only Lord or Jehovah, and Elohim or God

was added by the Redactor, to whom the latter word was more familiar, as Jehovah in his day was no longer in ordinary use. He might quite as easily have erased Lord and substituted God while he was taking liberties with his text, but had he done so the critics would have been compelled to assign the second chapter to the same writer as the first; and it may be that in this he was unconsciously guided by divine inspiration, in order that the literary critics of the nineteenth century might have the opportunity to exercise and exhibit their penetration. We are asked to believe in a theistic evolution in which God permits the race, through nearly three thousand years, to regard as a true and authentic record what he finally enables men to see is a mass of fables, forgeries, and deliberate inventions. For myself, I could not trust in a God who made use of such a method of revelation. On the face of it, it is simply incredible that Genesis was put together as the critics claim. I believe in free discussion. But I also protest against what Professor Sayce has well called the papacy of the radical critical school. We are browbeaten by being told that the consensus of scholarship has settled this matter. I deny that there is such consensus, and if there were it would not be the first time that truth has been in the minority. I call for the facts. I do not care for names. What is needed is a good deal more of quiet, independent investigation, and a good deal less of toadying to reckless leaders. I can only say for myself that the oftener I have reviewed the facts and the logic, and the more carefully I have sifted the evidence, the more convinced I become that the old fable of the mountain and the mouse is repeating itself in the herculean labors of modern criticism.

I refer to only one more critical assumption, which must be challenged. It is that the nonobservance of a law is evidence of its ignorance by the people and of its nonexistence. The historical books, we are told, show that there was no central and exclusive sanctuary, but that sacrifices were freely and frequently offered in many places. Deuteronomy and the Levitical code plainly forbid this. Therefore, it is argued, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy could not have been written until many centuries after Moses. Of course, the testimony of Chronicles is thrown out of court, on the ground that it is a late compilation. The major premise of the argument is that general violation of a law proves its nonexistence. I asked one of our

lawyers what he thought of that logic. "Why," he answered, "that is unmitigated nonsense." For, as he intimated, there might be such a conspiracy against law, on the part of public officials and judges, as to make it a dead letter, and in a generation the statute might not be so much as referred to or quoted. Some time after this conversation I came across a quotation from Sir J. Stephen's lectures on the history of France, to which Professor Zenos, of Chicago, had called the attention of Professor Green, of Princeton, singularly confirming this judgment by the actual oblivion of an entire code of laws. The quotation is as follows: "When the barbarism of the domestic government (under the Carlovingian dynasty) had thus succeeded the barbarism of the government of the state, one of the most remarkable results of that political change was the disappearance of the laws and institutions by which Charlemagne had endeavored to elevate and civilize his subjects. Before the close of the century in which he died the whole body of his laws had fallen into utter disuse throughout the whole extent of his Gallic dominions. They who have studied the charters, laws, and chronicles of the later Carlovingian princes most diligently are unanimous in declaring that they indicate either an absolute ignorance or an entire forgetfulness of the legislation of Charlemagne." If this actually happened after the death of Charlemagne, why was it impossible after the death of Moses? Now, the record shows that this was just what did take place in the centuries after Moses. The history constantly affirms that Israel was unfaithful and that sacrifice on the high places was an unauthorized innovation. But rulers and priests encouraged it and the old law fell into disuse and oblivion, until in the reformation under Josiah the authority of the neglected and forgotten law was reinstated. That is a perfectly simple and straightforward account. Hilkiah's discovery of the roll of the law was an event like Luther's dragging the New Testament to light. Even priests had ceased to read it, and the people knew nothing of its contents. If we are to conclude that the nonobservance of a law is evidence of its nonexistence, then we must conclude that the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount are not in existence now. The truth is that the historical and prophetic books constantly assume that the Israelites were flagrantly disobedient and were sorely punished for their disobedience. They had the law, but

they kept it not, and the priests were at the feet of the wicked kings. Israel had its dark ages, as the Christian Church has had. In Josiah's time came the great reformation and return for which the great prophets had prepared the way; and, after the Babylonian captivity, with its humiliating and painful experiences, Ezra and his associates gave to the reformation and return their final and permanent form. The next step was the advent of Jesus Christ. In him the old passed forever away and the new appeared upon the scene. With him we begin. And in his hands we find the same Old Testament, in which he assures us that the way of eternal life is clearly revealed, and of which he exhorts us to make diligent use. From its ceremonial penances and sacrifices he has delivered us by the sacrifice of himself upon the cross. He has abolished the law of ordinances. From the yoke of a human priesthood he has freed us, because he is the eternal high priest of our glorious redemption. But there remain the record of God's dealings with the men of ancient times, and the psalms of the ancient Church, and the stirring prophecies of bygone centuries, which, as Isaac Taylor has said, have been the drumbeat to which modern progress marches. They are old, but they are not antiquated. They are granaries of bread and wells of salvation. Let us eat and drink and give thanks to God for his royal bounty. Not words, but deeds, constitute the most impressive revelation of God. He speaks to men through history. He came by Jesus Christ. And the incarnation was only the crown of an unbroken historic revelation. Not in legal codes and in ritual ordinances are we to search for the secret and vital principle of God's self-revelation, but in the historical events in which they are imbedded and which make them radiant with eternal meaning. The codes do not touch our life. We may ignore them. The history which underlies and overlaps the codes has not spent its force. We cannot ignore it. We cannot afford to lose it. The whole patriarchal history and the discipline of Israel are luminous with warning and encouragement. We are enriched by the narratives of Abraham, and Joseph, and Moses, and Joshua, and the Judges, and the Kings, loyal and rebellious. There are no better stories for our children. There are no more impressive narratives for the oldest. They constitute an invaluable primer of morality and religion. They were written and preserved for our admonition. And simply in the interests of fair treatment

we protest against their wholesale slaughter upon such wild assumptions as have been passed under rapid review.

It has been the fashion, in critical quarters, to sneer at Professor Green, of Princeton. It did him no harm. He certainly had no disposition to padlock free thought and free speech. It is only a fool who sits down on the safety valve. The professor is on record as saying that "every attempt to interfere with freedom of inquiry on this subject should be frowned down, from whatever quarter it may proceed or by whatever motive it may be actuated—and vigorous threshing will free the pure grain from the worthless chaff." If that be uncharitable narrowness, then I want my name added to the list of its victims. If men will persist in emptying their wagonloads of criticism upon the public threshing floor, I shall not denounce them, nor will I run away in holy horror, but I will seize my flail and beat away until straw and grain fly apart in clouds of whirling dust. That is true charity. And the fearless attitude of Professor Green, to which I have alluded, recalls a similar manly challenge from the lips of the late Dr. Van Dyke, of our own city, most conservative of theologians, when, shortly before his death, his voice rang out in this magnificent fashion: "If we must choose between orthodoxy and liberty, we will hold fast to liberty and let orthodoxy go!" That was said when the critical debate was convulsing the Presbyterian Church. It startled not a few. I thought that I understood him, and I did. I interpreted him as meaning that orthodoxy had nothing to fear from the freest and the most searching discussion, that liberty was the mother of orthodoxy and its perpetual safety. And when I wrote him, asking whether I had caught his meaning, back came the reply by the very next mail, "That is exactly what I had in mind, and what I believe." Nobody will be privately or publicly admonished to keep still. Congregationalism, at least, has no use for such ecclesiastical machinery. Nobody will be denounced for saying what he believes. But every man will be held responsible for his utterances, and if these utterances defy both fact and logic, the exposure will be made without recourse to apology. Arbitrary assumption and imaginary facts and vicious methods and wholesale charges of fraudulent handling, which, as we have seen, are common with the advocates of radical and revolutionary criticism, cannot be permitted to go unchallenged.

THE ARENA.

UNJUST CRITICISMS.

The criticisms on missionaries in China which have filtered through the secular press within the past two years have scarcely needed reply from the missionaries because nonmissionaries have come forward to refute them, and of these have been many eminent men admirably qualified to speak with authority concerning the points made by the critics. Among these testimonies to the worth of the missionaries and the moral quality of Chinese Christians is that given by Consul-General Goodnow. Speaking only as a government official, he was surprised to learn on his return to America that the whole disturbance in China was of missionary origin. This he declared to be "absolute nonsense." In February, 1900, one of the members of the court of the empress dowager, who is by all reports strongly antiforeign, gave to Mr. Goodnow himself seven acres of land, worth thirty-five thousand dollars (gold), for a missionary hospital in appreciation of the good done by it. Though going to China prejudiced against missionary activity as seen in the conversion of native Christians, during these troublous times Mr. Goodnow has seen tens of thousands of Chinese converts who had the opportunity to recant and thereby save their lives refuse to do so, choosing rather to go to the block; while whole villages have been wiped off the face of the earth because they would not deny their faith. He has therefore said, "I shall never talk of 'rice-Christians' any more, nor do I believe will any honest man who knows the facts about what happened in North China last summer."

J. T. Gracey.

Rochester, N. Y.

A FAIR TRIAL FOR CHRISTIANITY.

The world always has given Christianity a fair trial. Opposition produces sturdy saints. Persecution proves a hotbed for truth. If there is lack of fair trial it rests with the Christian. The world will always love her own and fight the conquering Christ. Opposition means progress; favor means stagnation. The persecuted Church was most pure. Opposition is our great opportunity. Whenever the Church has had large place in civil affairs she has persecuted. Christianity is not an organization; it is a life, and that life is manifested through individuals. When men began to show forth this life of others they felt the need of organization; thus the Churches. The Church is but the outward manifestation of a deeper individual life. Increase this life, and the outward form will develop naturally. Christ came to redeem individuals. Reformation always follows redemption. Strike where your blows will count. The moral life of her individual members is the proper field for the

Church. In this she stands supreme. Efforts to enlarge this have always produced injury. Mold great individuals; then leave them free to act as great men. The Gospel is a leaven. Its sphere is moral, not political. Its mission is to make men, not direct them—character, not political control. These times demand not better organizations and methods, but Christlike giants.

Ionia, Mich. WILLARD ALDRICH.

A CURIOUS CUSTOM.

THERE is a rude custom preserved in Mexico, and, I am told, in the South American countries, which I saw for the first time on March 29, 1902. On the Saturday of *Semana Santa* (Holy Week), at an appointed hour, Judas the betrayer is burned with great demonstration. I saw him suffer, representatively, in front of several *pulchi** shops this morning. Expectation will have gathered a considerable crowd at each chosen place. From the roof or upper window of the shop a rope is made fast to the building opposite. In proper time the man who is to manage the affair shows himself, and slackens the rope so that it may be reached from the ground. Then Judas is borne out, and is greeted by shouts, and by the noise of "devil-chasers" (little contrivances of wood, made to twirl with a whirring sound), and by the waving of many paper banners which bear an advertisement of the shopkeeper's wares. Judas at once makes plain by his looks that some humor is admitted to the occasion. He is sure to have grotesque features, usually with a large and well-colored nose, like those of our comic valentines at home. Not infrequently he has a high hat; and always a coat which, as one would say in German, "is to laugh at." He may have been given an old basket, or a great empty gourd, or some one's cast-off shoes to sling across his arm, as an attribute thought to make him the more ludicrous. So far as I observed he always keeps a cheerful countenance through the whole drama, until its fatal end; when, alas! he can no longer preserve any countenance at all. Hastily taken to the middle of the street, the queer figure is hung upon the waiting rope, a fuse in the region of his coat tail is lighted, and the rope drawn tight again. Judas begins to revolve merrily, much to the enjoyment of the crowd. Then some explosive in his inward parts takes action, and all that is external, being of paper, is either blown to tatters or quickly burned. Once again the rope is lowered, and scores of loud-hooting boys charge at the flimsy skeleton, which still remains dangling. Perhaps, for mischief, it is jerked out of reach again once or twice. But it is soon caught, and every boy of the howling company makes wild efforts to get at least some splinter as a trophy. In an instant all is over; and the crowd begins to disperse, with a satisfied air. This ceremony was doubtless accompanied, generations ago, with great religious fanaticism. Now there is nothing of

* *Pulchi* is an intoxicating drink made in Mexico from the fermented juice of the maguey plant, a species of cactus.

the sort, though it is continued only by the poorer and more ignorant classes. There seems to be no more thought of symbolism than in some of our Easter customs, and no more sentiment than in most of our Fourth of July noise. It is only that the half-clothed and half-civilized native peons and their families have as much barbarous love of demonstration as we. To a stranger, however, it is full of curious interest and peculiar suggestion.

Pachuca, Mexico. E. H. Blichfeldt.

DR. W. R. GOODWIN ON THE RESURRECTION.

Rev. Dr. Goodwin, of Los Angeles, in the May-June number of the *Review*, enters the arena to contest the views of Dr. Lance on the resurrection of the human body. I shall not presume to defend Dr. Lance, who is evidently capable of defending himself on occasion. But I do feel a curious interest in the position which Dr. Goodwin assumes in his controversy in the arena. When a man publishes his views to the public, as public property they are open to public criticism. In the first sentence Dr. Goodwin arraigns Dr. Lance's doctrine of the resurrection as "neither philosophical nor scriptural." This suggests and legitimates the question whether the reviewer's own views may not be based upon his "philosophy" rather than upon revelation when he charges that "Dr. Lance fails to notice the fact that the resurrection of *the dead*, but not the resurrection of the *dead body*, is constantly affirmed in the Scriptures." Is this a distinction without a difference? The doctor does not stay to define the difference which he assumes. To the writer the claim is neither original nor clear. What, then, is it that is "dead"—the body or the spirit, or both? If the term is to be applied to the spirit of man after he dies, in what sense is it proper to call it a "dead" spirit, and in what sense is its revival to be properly called a *resurrection*.

The departure of a human spirit into the spirit world at death certainly does not convey the idea of the spirit's death, neither does its return convey the idea of its resurrection. Such a thought has no warrant outside of the imagination of those who call it "philosophy." For in no intelligible sense can the term "the dead" be applied to the spirit, which *continues to live* after death. Then the only alternative left is its application to the body, which does not live after death, and which is the only part of the man that can properly be called "dead." It is a familiar figure of speech employed in the Scripture which puts a part for the whole—the body to designate the man, just as the hand and the arm are used to symbolize God's power (Deut. iv, 34; xxvi, 8); and his eyes to represent his ubiquity, when it is said: "His eyes behold the nations;" "The Lord's throne is in the heavens; his eyes behold the children of men" (Psa. lxvi, 7; xi, 4). Now, we cognize and recognize living friends by their bodily characteristics; and when they die we say,

"We have buried our 'dead' in this cemetery," though referring exclusively to their *dead bodies as being buried.* And we find the very same implications running through the Scriptures. So respecting the resurrection. Daniel says: "Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt" (xii, 2). Hosea says: "I will ransom them from the power of the grave; I will redeem them from death: O death, I will be thy plague; O grave, I will be thy destruction" (xiii, 14). So also our Lord Jesus employs the same familiar *usus*, saying: "Marvel not at this: . . . all that are in their graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation" (John v, 28, 29). Both the English Version of 1881 and the "American Standard Version" of 1901 render the clause, "All that are in their tombs;" the Greek term τὸ μνημεῖον expressly designating "the tomb, the sepulcher." The direct implication here is that the body is that which is "dead" and buried in the "grave;" and the plain declaration is that "all that are in their graves" shall have a "resurrection." When, then, Dr. Goodwin himself avows that he "does not believe in the resurrection of *this mortal body*" is his belief based upon the Scriptures, or is it his theory which contravenes the Scriptures? Paul teaches in Rom. viii, 11, "But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwelleth in you, he that raised up Jesus Christ from the dead shall give life also *to your mortal bodies*," etc. (R. V. 1901): Ζωοποιήσει καὶ τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν. Liddell and Scott render ζωοποιέω "to make alive" (your mortal bodies) (*Gr.-Eng. Lex.*); and Dr. Thayer, referring to this passage as proof-text, gives, "to cause to live . . . [spoken] of the dead, to reanimate, to restore to life [your mortal bodies]" (*Gr.-Eng. Lex. of N. T.*); and in Dr. Cremer's celebrated work he remarks on the etymology of this word, "For the most part in the New Testament the raising of the dead," and in proof refers to John v, 21: "As the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them;" and to 1 Pet. iii, 18: "Being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the Spirit" (*Bib.-Theol. Lex. of N. T.*, p. 275, 3d ed.). In Phil. iii, 20, 21, we read, "We look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body" (A. V.). Both the recent versions render the Greek Μετασχηματίσει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν, "who shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation." T. Sheldon Green translates μετασχηματίζω "to remodel [your mortal bodies];" and Thayer cites Bishop Lightfoot as explaining the word to mean "the spiritual body being developed from the natural body as the butterfly from the caterpillar." Thus the Scriptures alluding to "the dead" do constantly refer to the "change" to be effected upon our "mortal bodies" when they shall come forth from the graves in their resurrection. It would be difficult to prove that the prophets and apostles, and even our Lord himself,

in revealing the great doctrine of the resurrection, meant something different from what their words express. It was the identical mortal body that had died which Jesus resurrected "when he called Lazarus out of the grave, and raised him from the dead" (John xii, 17). It was the identical dead body of Jesus which was crucified whose marks he exhibited after his resurrection. It was the dead bodies at Jerusalem that "came out of their graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many" (Matt. xxvii, 52, 53). And of those living the last day Paul says: "Behold, I show you a mystery; We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be *changed*, in a moment, . . . and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, *and we shall be changed*" (1 Cor. xv, 51, 52). So much as to the bodily "dead" having bodily "resurrection" according to the Scripture.

S. L. BOWMAN.

Newark, N. J.

A CHEMICAL CORRECTION.

IN the excellent, helpful article on "Philosophy of the Resurrection" in the March-April number of the *Review* the author makes one or two slight errors to which it might be well to call your attention. On page 225 he says, "For example, alcohol is composed of four atoms carbon, six atoms hydrogen, and two atoms oxygen to a molecule equaling twelve atoms." Evidently common alcohol is meant. Its chemical formula is C_2H_6O, or two atoms carbon, six atoms hydrogen, and a single atom of oxygen, making nine atoms to the molecule. Again he says, "Vinegar has four atoms carbon, four atoms hydrogen, and four atoms oxygen in a molecule of twelve atoms." The acid in vinegar is acetic acid. The formula is $C_2H_4O_2$. It has therefore two atoms carbon, four of hydrogen, and two of oxygen, or eight atoms to the molecule. He further says, "The only difference between turpentine and camphor is that camphor has two atoms of oxygen to every molecule, whereas turpentine has none." It is a fact that camphor has only one atom to the molecule. These small inaccuracies, of course, do not mar the force of the argument, which is well and strongly presented.

Mount Vernon, Ia. NICHOLAS KNIGHT.

THE NEW SUNDAY SCHOOL.

FOR that practical knowledge of human nature which fits for business or philanthropy a laboratory dissection of a man's body or a technical study of human psychology will be of slight value if indeed it be not entirely misleading. The living man is not to be fully known by investigating him cut to pieces and under the microscope. These latter studies are always to be highly esteemed, of course, and will be pursued by the few for valuable scientific and pathological purposes. But every man must study the living man to get on with him in any human enterprise.

Herein lies a parable for present-day Bible students. The Bible on the dissecting table is a fascinating study. Its dismemberment is witnessed as it proceeds under the skillful analysis of the philologist, or historical critic, or ingenious constructor of plausibilities by a multitude, few of whom are competent to pass upon the discoveries held up by the operators. This study has its value; but the Bible is a unit of power in the world's life. There is a great school of the Bible which is coming to a renaissance world-wide and deep. The Sunday school of the past is distinguished by really monumental achievements. Though it has yet built only the portico of its grand possibilities in a temple of Bible study, every pillar in this portico may be made a monument of splendid results.

We can only glance at this row of pillars. The Sunday school has trained lay workers for their ever-enlarging church service. It has originated more than half the new churches built since it began, and this in the century which started as many new churches as all the eighteen centuries preceding had founded. It has contributed five sixths of the accessions to these churches. It was the first and is now the widest and most practical form of interdenominational fellowship. As early as 1825 it brought together Christians in hundreds of county Sunday school organizations, and in a national association in 1832. It has done again for childhood what Christ did when he set a little child in the midst and attracted all eyes upon it, enhancing immeasurably the popular estimate of its value. Christian citizenship has been promoted through its agency. It has attracted the notice of great statesmen; it has pioneered the free school system in many States of the Union.

Yet these are only by-products of Sunday school work. In its real sphere of instructing in the English Bible as the revelation of God's love and will the Sunday school has only begun to be developed. Its remarkable possibilities are now being demonstrated by individual schools with results that are inspiring in value and of great promise for all Sunday schools.

Let us examine a few of these results. The central problem of the Sunday school is how to secure efficient teachers. Rendering voluntary and gratuitous service, dealing with a book of complicated structure and profoundest truths, and with pupils instructed in public schools by skilled teachers with whom these Bible teachers will be inevitably contrasted, how can the Sunday school become a high-grade institution in its force of instructors? A number of pioneers are answering this question. In one school of fifty-two teachers every one has had a three years' course of richly suggestive training, and so many more are graduates of the course that a second teacher is attached to every class, with like qualifications. In another school for twelve years a Normal Department has furnished teachers of unusual efficiency for every vacancy.

The matter of home cooperation is likewise being accomplished. The Home Department of the Sunday school was suggested almost

simultaneously by Drs. W. A. Duncan, of New York, and S. W. Dike, of Massachusetts, in 1881. The plan was rather slowly adopted, but is now recognized in every denomination. Our own Church leads in number of home readers, with about sixty-five thousand. What is the Home Department? It is a simple movement to secure home reading of the regular International Sunday school lesson under the supervision of the school for at least half an hour a week by all persons unable to attend the session of the school. Other features of annual Home Department day in the churches, social home gatherings and intervisitations, and an admirable development of parish work have followed. For the babies there is now a genuine "infant class." The "Cradle Roll" registers every child as soon as it has a name and shepherds it for Christ's sake from very birth. We therefore cease to call a department of boys and girls from five to nine years of age "infants." They constitute the Primary Department. The man who speaks of the "infant class" in his Sunday school is not in touch with modern methods.

The educational development of the Sunday school itself is not behind its teacher training and home work. Graded courses of supplemental lessons add fundamental Bible drills to the International Lesson system. Periodical examinations and promotions test the work accomplished. Special days fix all the important points in the school year and culminate in notable commencement days of the Sunday school. In addition to these movements there is a thoroughly developed system of city and county house-to-house visitation which is covering the Church's territorial responsibility. Large portions of great States, towns, and cities as well as sparsely peopled country districts have sent out their companies of drilled and instructed searchers after lost souls until the last house was entered and the last soul at all accessible reached.

And what shall we say more? For the time would fail us to tell of Decision Day movements in the Sunday school which with revival sweep have simultaneously stirred hundreds of schools in large cities, producing marvelous spiritual and evangelistic results. Mr. Moody said to a group of workers a few years before his death, "You have the greatest thing in evangelistic work there is! O, if I had ten good years of my life now how I would like to throw myself into Decision Day work in the Sunday school!"

Then there are Bible Unions for men and women which are most helpful socially and industrially, as well as in fruitful Bible instruction. New ideas in Sunday school buildings are radical developments of the new pedagogy applied to Bible teaching. Other features are the Institutes, Primary Unions, Summer Schools, Superintendent's Union, and People's Colleges.

These considerations lead us to observe that the Sunday school has two distinct functions. It has both a spiritual and an educational value, and these must be differentiated and specially provided for. Hence by the present-day law of specializing for power

we must have two lessons in every session of the Sunday school: First, lessons for strictly spiritual impression; and this can be best accomplished by the exegetical study of brief selections of Scripture for wise practical application. Secondly, lessons which are variously called "supplemental," "fundamental," or "additional." These are along the lines of school drills and systematic presentation of Bible books, their contents, history, geography, manners and customs, archæology, etc. Five, or at most ten, minutes a session are given to these lessons right after the opening exercises, and by attractive drills and outlines they are accomplishing gratifying results. The specializing of these two lessons soon becomes more distinct and the lines of differentiation sharper. The spiritual lesson, the regular International selection for the day, becomes the direct message of God to the soul of the scholar. There is less need of connecting the history, or bringing out the places and dates; these are taught in the other lesson. The second lesson will teach the Bible in course and arrange its facts. Three series of these second lessons are now used. The first consists of Bible studies, analytic and synthetic; the Bible by books as units, and each book in detail and in relation to the whole; synthetic courses of history prophecy, discourses; topics like the literary study of the Bible; harmony of the gospels; the Acts, and the epistles, etc. The second series comprises auxiliary studies of Bible geography, archæology, manners and customs, biblical literature and helps, and illustrative material. The third series is on the Bible and the church; church history, polity, and doctrines; the movements of the church to-day, etc. The grading of the school and the inauguration of better work has the usual initial difficulties of such efforts, and their inevitable inertia and misunderstanding; but, if wisely prosecuted, it cannot fail of success. Then there are quarterly examinations; additional honor work in Bible memorizing, eagerly taken by every scholar; promotions, which are great occasions; and Sunday school commencement, the red-letter day of the Church year.

Even the most difficult problem, that of training teachers, is not so formidable as would appear. It is not necessary to provide a complete education, nor to train in fundamental knowledge. The average teacher of the Sunday school represents the more intelligent membership of the church, and probably has had a high school and frequently a college training. Hence the outcome of broader Bible work, child study, the principles of teaching, and cognate subjects, will be surprisingly efficient.

There is a philosophic basis for grading in the Sunday school, and a practical completing of its organization, but these are subjects for larger discussion. They are fundamental to worthy Bible instruction, and must be mastered by the pastor and the superintendent if the New Sunday School is to come to them and abide in spirit and power.

CHARLES ROADS.

New York.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THE HOMILETIC VALUE OF THE LATE REVISION OF THE SCRIPTURES.—Rom. iv, 22–25.

AUTHORIZED VERSION: "And therefore it was imputed to him for righteousness. Now it was not written for his sake alone, that it was imputed to him; but for us also, to whom it shall be imputed, if we believe on him that raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead; who was delivered for our offenses, and was raised again for our justification."

Revised Version: "Wherefore also it was reckoned unto him for righteousness. Now it was not written for his sake alone, that it was reckoned unto him; but for our sake also, unto whom it shall be reckoned, who believe on him that raised Jesus our Lord from the dead, who was delivered up for our trespasses, and was raised for our justification."

Sanday's Paraphrase: "And for this reason that faith of his was credited to him as righteousness. Now, when all this was recorded in Scripture, it was not Abraham alone who was in view but we too—the future generation of Christians, who will find a like acceptance, as we have a like faith. Abraham believed on Him who caused the birth of Isaac from elements that seemed as good as dead: and we too believe on the same God who raised up from the dead Jesus our Lord, who was delivered into the hands of His murderers to atone for our sins, and rose again to effect our justification (i. e. to put the crown and seal to the Atonement wrought by His Death, and at the same time to evoke the faith which makes the Atonement effectual)."

This epistle fairly glows with the varied aspects and applications of the great doctrine of salvation by faith. Whichever way one turns, this Pauline thought confronts him. The variants in this text between the Revised and Authorized Versions are worthy of note. In the twenty-second verse the revisers substitute "wherefore also" for "and therefore," and "reckoned unto" for "imputed to." The latter change is also in the twenty-third verse. Also in the twenty-fourth verse the revisers read "for our sake also" instead of "for us also." Further, "unto whom it shall be reckoned" is substituted for "to whom it shall be imputed," and "who believe" for "if we believe." In the twenty-fifth verse we have "delivered up for our trespasses" instead of "delivered for our offenses." The emphatic points of difference are: "reckoned" for "imputed," and "trespasses" for "offenses," and "who believe" for "if we believe."

An analysis of this text reveals some of the central aspects of our Christianity which well merit pulpit treatment. We find, first, the special proposition as set forth in the twenty-second verse,

namely, that Abraham's faith was reckoned unto him for righteousness. The apostle seems to assert that in Abraham's life, especially in the case of his son Isaac, there was an exhibition of faith which in God's mind was reckoned for righteousness. At this point the words used are manifestly different. In our ordinary version it is said, "it was imputed to him for righteousness;" in the Revised Version, "it was reckoned unto him for righteousness." These phrases need careful consideration. "To impute" anything to another seems to place to his credit or demerit something which does not belong to him at all, something which is placed in its relation by mere authority and not necessarily growing out of the real position of things; whereas "to reckon" is simply to put the act of faith in a new aspect, namely, the aspect of righteousness, in which it becomes acceptable to God. It is exceedingly difficult to define this terminology in a way clear to our apprehension. The apostle, however, is evidently saying in this passage that God regarded Abraham's faith as equivalent for justification to the personal act of righteousness. This does not mean that any unrighteous act of Abraham was made right in view of his faith, but rather that his faith was such an expression of Abraham's tone and temper of mind and of the purpose and character of his life that God saw in his faith something in harmony with himself and something which he could approve. "Faith, therefore, is not an arbitrary condition imposed upon us from without, but a law of our true nature; it exalts man to his rightful dignity by allowing the free consent of his will, and the active exercise of his faculties, and yet humbles him before God in acknowledgment of mercy undeserved. Thus faith is at once the soul's highest exercise of freedom, its 'lowest confession of sin,' and the only homage it can render to God." (Gifford's *Commentary.*)

The next assertion of the apostle is that Abraham's faith had definite relations to mankind in the time of the apostle, and consequently in our time. Abraham is thus reckoned as a type of believers of the Christian centuries. It was not the belief in the same thing as Abraham believed, but the quality of belief in God that was in the mind of the apostle. The same characteristic which led God to regard Abraham as righteous will be manifest in every believer, and God looks upon faith as that which characterizes all those who are righteous. It is useless for us to speculate on all the varied aspects of Christian faith. The apostle seems to be impressing that general principle of faith which is reckoned on the part of God as righteousness.

But, in the third place, the apostle further indicates the special characteristic of the faith of the Christian of Paul's time and also of ours, namely, faith in God, who raised Jesus our Lord from the dead. This faith in God as the essential element of righteousness clearly is manifest in the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. But faith in God as the one who raised Jesus from the

dead is evidently intended here to represent the aspect in which the Christian views God—that is, God in his relation to Jesus Christ. The resurrection was the final act in the earthly life of our Lord previous to his ascension, and was to the world a manifestation of divine power. Belief in God, who raised Jesus from the dead, was a confidence in God of the highest kind. Hence the apostle emphasizes the fact that the Christian believed in the same God in whom Abraham believed, but believed on him under the new aspect which came with the New Testament revelation of God in Christ.

Fourthly, the text sets forth in striking form the efficacy of the death and also of the resurrection of Christ, "who was delivered up"—that is, delivered up to death—"for our trespasses." This evidently means that Christ was crucified on Calvary to atone for human sin. The apostle does not stop to express the way in which this atonement is made efficacious, nor does he set forth any theory of the atonement, but he does set forth the fact that, in some way more fully explained by the apostle elsewhere, Christ was delivered up to death for man's trespasses. The word "trespasses" is a more accurate rendering of the Greek word than "offenses" is. These trespasses are against God, whose domain sinful man has invaded and whose laws he has violated. In some way man must find reconciliation if he would occupy his rightful position in the sight of his Maker. Trespasses require forgiveness. The alienation requires removal; the character requires harmonization with the character of God. This was accomplished on God's part by the surrendering of Jesus Christ to the death of the cross, on man's part by faith in Jesus Christ, who is God manifest in the flesh. The surrendering of self to God's plan of salvation is the highest act possible to sinful man, and while not a meritorious cause of salvation is an intrusting of the soul to its God and Redeemer, which in God's view restores the lost harmony, and through the Holy Spirit renews the nature which sin had corrupted, and restores man to his position before God which sin had forfeited. The text then explains, and expresses the death of Christ as a like result of man's trespasses and the method of man's reconciliation.

In the twenty-fifth verse it is further said that he was raised again for our justification. This assertion seems out of harmony with our ordinary conception, which connects faith in the atonement of Christ with the justification of the believer, and has led to inquiry as to the sense in which the resurrection of Jesus Christ may be considered a justification of the believer. The explanation which seems nearest correct is that the resurrection of the Lord Jesus set the seal upon his life and upon all that he did; that by the resurrection of Christ he was attested to be the Son of God. In the first chapter of this epistle, verse 4, it is said of Christ that he "was declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead." Had Christ not risen, the great central proof that he was the Son of God and that his

death was efficacious for human redemption would have fallen short of that verification which this transcendent act gives us. The resurrection of Christ has been in all the Christian centuries not only a powerful but an absolute proof of the truth of Christianity. Paul demonstrated this fact with a cogency of reasoning and with a wealth of illustration that showed how important he regarded it. The resurrection of Christ, following his incarnation and his death, constitutes the great keystone of the Christian system. It shows that Christ was the Son of God and gives efficacy to all that he said and did, and emphasizes the value of the great tragedy of Calvary.

There is another sense in which the resurrection of Christ is powerful for man's justification. Our risen and ascended Lord has entered into the heavenlies, where he ever liveth to make intercession for us. His life-giving power is ever working in redeemed human nature, ever renewing and vivifying our faith and our deeds. "Christ in you, the hope of glory," the indwelling Christ, is the strength of the believer. As his death on the cross was the atonement for sin, his resurrection from the dead is the impartation of the divine life in the soul and of the resurrection life of the believer in the world to come.

The homiletic value of this profound passage is further indicated in the relation which it asserts to exist between Abraham's justification and ours. The justification of Abraham is a part of the world's history, and yet Paul asserts that his mode of justification is also ours, and he cites Abraham's proof as a demonstration of the correctness of his own theological position on the subject. The apostle assumes that there is a strict parallel between Abraham's case and ours. The Old Testament history, then, must be more than history of individual men in their relation to God, and must contain prophetic anticipations of the divine administration in subsequent ages. This affords a striking presumption of the divine inspiration of these Scriptures. The Old Testament history was a prefiguration and preannouncement of something that was to come after, and this preannouncement must have been in the divine mind and must have been set forth by divine inspiration. The text, then, and indeed the whole passage in its references to the Old Testament, shows the harmony between the Old Testament and the New, and the necessity of comparing one with the other, in order that we may learn accurately the way of salvation.

AFTER THE MINISTER'S VACATION—WHAT?

THE ministers are returning from their vacation, and the Itinerants' Club greets them with hearty congratulations on their much-needed rest. Many, perhaps, have not been able to leave their work, and it is to be hoped that the opportunity of change and rest may be still afforded them. The vacation has brought a change of scene; those from the mountains have gone to the seashore, and those, perhaps, who have wrought along the coast regions have secured the

refreshment which comes from the breezes of the higher altitudes. It has also brought physical and intellectual recuperation. The minister has been relieved of the grind and wear which has come every week. He feels differently, moves about vigorously, and looks upon things in general from a new standpoint.

Now that the minister is home again among his people it is important to consider how he shall undertake his work. He should begin his labors gradually. The impulse will be, with his new vigor, to rush impetuously into his work and thereby impair the vigor which his vacation has brought to him. He will need gradually to gather together his resources and to take up the threads of the work where he left it. He needs readjustment to his position, not only to the actual work but to its spirit. The minister's work is so real and vital that the separation, for a few weeks even, removes him from his environment, and he needs to get into it once more. He will gradually go about among his people.

It will also be proper at this time to lay plans for his labors during the year. The movements of the modern church are very complex, and the position of the minister is to be that of a helper over God's people. While the minister would be unwise to enter too much into detail in the formation of his plans, since excessive detail is often an obstacle to spontaneous action, yet general plans are essential for the carrying on of his work. He would do well to have a general view of the lines of instruction which he will give his people during the year, to think of the special subjects which will probably interest them under their peculiar conditions; perhaps during meditative hours texts will come to him which he will study and discuss more fully later in the season. He may devise plans for helping the young people of the church, and thus render his own work less wearing and more effective.

He will take this time to gather the forces of the church for effective work. Many of his parishioners have taken a vacation, and those who have stayed home have felt less responsibility for the church than they ought to have felt. One of the difficulties connected with the vacation season is the danger of forgetting and losing an interest in the spiritual life of the church. The minister will do well, therefore, quietly to reawaken the interest of his people by gently reminding them of the work before them, summoning them to the meetings, and inquiring of them how they may mutually serve the cause of Christ. They will readily respond to the interest thus shown in them, and it will soon be found that the church movement is again in full progress. This may be the introduction to a fresh spiritual consecration. It is only a spiritual church that can be a victorious church. With this will come also a new interest in humanity and in the saving of the people. In some such ways as have been suggested the vacations will bring alike spiritual and physical vigor which will make ministers and people more useful in the great work committed to them by the Master.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

BAALBEK.

BAALBEK, at least under this name, is a comparatively modern city. Its origin and early history are shrouded in darkness. Though not mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures or in ancient classic history, it is reasonably certain that Baalbek was an important center centuries before our era. It is therefore not strange that many scholars have tried, though unsuccessfully, to identify it with various places mentioned in profane and sacred history. Baal-gad, in the valley of Lebanon (Josh. xi, 17), has had its advocates; so have Baalath (1 Kings ix, 18) and Baal-hamon (Cant. viii, 11) been urged as identical with Baalbek. These are mere conjectures and must be dismissed as such, for in spite of all claims to the contrary we have no reliable historical reference to the place earlier than the third century of our era. Coins of the period, preserved in our museums, prove that it was a Roman colony in the days of Julius Cæsar. It is further stated that it was occupied by a Roman garrison under Augustus. Tradition also says that Antoninus Pius erected a stately temple at Heliopolis in Syria. Scholars are pretty well agreed that the Heliopolis of the Greco-Roman historians was no other than Baalbek. If it be true that Baalbek signifies "the city of Baal" we can readily understand why the Greek-speaking people should have called the place Heliopolis—that is, "city of the sun." The fact that it was so named argues conclusively that the sun was the principal object of worship at this old sanctuary. Though Baal is not generally used as synonymous with "sun," yet we know that Baal, like the Babylonian Bel, was a solar deity, and that the sun was a special, if not the only, object of worship at many of the Baal sanctuaries. Baal-hamon, for instance, is represented on some Carthaginian monuments with a crown of solar rays. The Baal worshiped at Beth-shemesh (house or dwelling of the sun) was, beyond doubt, a sun god.

Baalbek is situated in the valley of the Litany (Leontes), on the lower slopes of Antilibanus, nearly equidistant from Beirut, Tripoli, and Damascus. It has at present about two thousand inhabitants, most of them being Christians. Whatever may have been its former glory and splendor, it is now chiefly celebrated for its extensive and magnificent ruins, which, in spite of endless wars, earthquakes, and the ravages of time, still bear most eloquent testimony to its ancient greatness. These ruins have been visited by many distinguished Europeans during the past three hundred years, and one writer after another has described them in most glowing terms. And yet it was not until two years ago that a thorough excavation of the place, on a large scale and in a scientific manner, was com-

menced. This is still in progress under the immediate patronage of his majesty, the emperor of Germany, who, besides being a great ruler, is also an enthusiastic biblical scholar and a student of oriental archæology. The work is in charge of two well-known artists from Berlin, Herren Schueltz and Kreucker, and other men of note. An official report of the excavations has not, so far, been made public, and probably will not be until after the completion of the work, which may not be for several years to come. The Germans are, as a rule, thorough, but seldom in a hurry. We are thus dependent upon unofficial reports and accounts written by tourists and others who have recently visited Baalbek and have been permitted to see the excavators at work and to notice the progress already made. Dr. F. J. Bliss was on the spot and has already published a short article on the subject, giving the results of "such observations as the ordinary traveler would be permitted to make."

Those of our readers who have read articles on Baalbek have often noticed the plans which accompanied them, and have thus gained an idea of the extent and character of the ruins. The most recent and complete thing of this kind is that published in a recent number of *The Builder*. This gives a "Sketch-Plan and Section of Baalbek." If we compare an old plan with this most recent one we can see at a glance the discoveries made by the Germans during the past twenty months. As in many ancient sites, so here, the number of objects discovered have not been very numerous; nevertheless the removal of small mountains of earth and *débris*, the accumulation of ages, has made it possible to speak with much greater accuracy concerning the form and dimensions not only of the substructures, but of the colonnades, portals, *exedræ*, etc., as well. The excavators, in order to make their work as perfect and thorough as possible, have undertaken the great task of removing every particle of loose earth and small stones within a certain area. To facilitate matters they have constructed a small tramway that they by means of trucks may carry the rubbish into the plain below. An eyewitness writes as follows: "The excavations are on the scale of those at Olympia, and the enormous mounds of earth which are slowly accumulating on the north side of the ruins impress the beholder with the magnitude and thoroughness of the work, and of the vast sums which are being expended upon it."

As throughout Eastern lands, so here, the space to be excavated shows very distinct marks of several well-defined civilizations. Here we have the Arab's hut, the Turkish fort, the battlements of mediæval times, the Saracenic fortifications, the modest structure of a Christian church, and the magnificent columns of a Roman temple. All these and more have to be examined before the virgin soil or solid rock is reached. Indeed, these recent discoveries have brought into clearer view the well-defined foundations of a Christian basilica, and have unearthed for the first time a very ancient altar which had been concealed for nearly two thousand years.

The great court in front of the great temple has been described time and again, at least as far as its dimensions and general outline were concerned. The excavations of the Germans have brought to light not only the bases of columns and niches or chambers which were ornamented with statues, etc., but they have cleared away the *débris* in such a way as to unearth a rock-hewn altar in a splendid state of preservation. This altar, about twenty-eight feet square and seven and a half feet high, cut out of the solid rock, is in the center of the great court. The approach to the altar is by a flight of cut steps on the east side. The basilica mentioned above was built over this old Semitic sanctuary. For as the Romans had built their imposing temple on the very spot where once had towered up, above the surrounding plain, an altar of Baal, so also the early Christians erected their temple to Jesus Christ a few feet higher up on the very same foundation, ever mindful of "Jesus, the name high over all."

The altar is of undoubted Semitic origin, and closely resembles other rock-hewn altars found in several places in Syria and countries farther south. It was only last year that we described the high place or sanctuary at Petra. *The Builder*, in speaking of the basilica and altar, has the following to say: "In the center of the great atrium stand the remains of one of the earliest of the Christian basilicas of the fourth or fifth century, north Syrian style. This basilica, perhaps following a local characteristic, is also built on a raised platform of earth, but the earth has been raised in this position for the purpose of covering up the constructions of the classic period. The early Christians evidently thought to convert the old site to their use, but did not dare to destroy it altogether, so they allowed the rock-hewn altar to remain where it has been just discovered, buried in the center of the new basilica."

The place on which the altar stood was, like many a spot in oriental lands, holy. No wonder, therefore, that one religion vied with the other in occupying it. When the Romans conceived the idea of erecting their great temple upon the venerable spot they found it necessary to build a series of walls all around this altar, and fill up the intervening space with loose earth, so as to make an extensive platform. They had two objects in view: they wanted more space, and they wanted to conceal all traces of other worship. The platform thus raised was fifty feet high. Three sides of the area thus made had massive walls, built of immense blocks of limestone. Three of these monster stones—hence the term *trilithon* in descriptions of the ruins at Baalbek—known for centuries, and located on the west side of the platform, are sixty-four, sixty-three and a half, and sixty-two feet long and have a width and breadth of about thirteen feet. The unearthing of the wall on the south side has disclosed several more of these cyclopean stones, and no doubt that many more of them will be found under the rubbish as the work proceeds. It is estimated that these huge pieces of rocks

weigh not less than fifteen thousand tons each, and yet they are set on substructures nearly twenty feet high. It is useless to speculate as to how they were placed in position or how they were quarried from the solid rock. That they were cut out is evident, for in a quarry a little to the southeast of the temple area one of these huge blocks remains partially cut out of the rock. The object of these cyclopean substructures was to buttress up and steady the foundations of the huge piles of stone and marble erected upon them. The German excavators are convinced that these massive foundations were placed there by the Romans and not by the Phœnicians. They arrive at this conclusion from the style of the stone dressing.

The object of this article is to point out the recent discoveries connected with these ruins. The first object of interest is the portico on the east side. This stands about twenty feet above the adjoining land, and was at one time reached by an elegant, massive flight of steps. It is two hundred and fifty feet long and nearly forty feet deep. The bases of eighteen columns, two of them with inscriptions, are yet to be seen. From this portico there are three entrances into the so-called Hexagon, a six-sided inclosure, serving as a forecourt to what we have already designated as the "great court" immediately in front of the temple. The entrance from the smaller to the larger court is by means of three elegant portals.

Another discovery in the "great court" is that of two very large basins, or *lavabos*. They are rectangular in shape, but of unequal dimensions, the larger one measuring sixty-three feet long, twenty-one feet broad, and three and a half feet deep. They are located on either side of the altar, and are of Roman rather than of Semitic origin; this is evidenced by the rich carving on the outside paneled walls, whereon we find represented human heads, various animals and flowers, cupids and other mythological subjects. The late origin of these *lavabos* may be inferred also from the fact that some of the carving has been left incomplete.

Travelers had noticed a certain state of incompleteness about several portions of the walls and temples at Baalbek. The German excavators have by their new discoveries emphasized this point. As pillar after pillar, base after base, the niches and the ornamental portions of the work have been subjected to the closest scrutiny it becomes clear not only that operations on the temple were suddenly discontinued, but that portions of the same were actually destroyed. When Christianity became the religion of the Roman emperors many a heathen temple was converted into a proper place for worshiping the one true God and his son Jesus Christ. So it must have happened at Baalbek; for while the work, which had been in progress for a century or more, was going on Theodosius the Great interfered and decreed that the large army of workmen engaged in completing the temple of Jupiter in the valley of the Litany should quit work, or rather assist in converting that imposing structure into a Christian basilica.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Hermann Schwarz. But a few months were permitted to elapse between the publication of his *Psychologie des Willens* (Psychology of the Will) and his *Das Sittliche Leben. Eine Ethik auf psychologischer Grundlage* (The Ethical Life. A System of Ethics on a Psychological Basis), Berlin, 1901, Reuther & Reichard. The two works really belong together, as their titles indicate. Schwarz's system might properly be called indeterministic; but the striking feature of his thought is not in this fact. According to him there are two laws of ethical conduct, which may be stated as follows: 1. That personality precedes conditions; and, 2. That what he calls Fremdwerthe, that is, organizations, such as the state and the like, precede both personality and personal conditions in importance. This system of necessity denies the value of altruism in the ordinary sense of the word, as between person and person, and gives the chief room for its exercise in the relations of the individual to organizations. One's duties to his church or his nation would be greater than his duties to any individual. It follows from this exaltation of institutions that benevolence can best be administered, not in one's private capacity, but rather through society as a whole. So far it would seem that Schwarz's ethics would lead directly to a socialistic scheme of life. But a society does not exist for its own sake, but for the sake of its constituent members, and while this fact would not justify one who felt that he could better his own condition thereby in declaring himself independent of society, still it forbids that the welfare of the individual should ever cease to be the principal justification for organizations. These are never an end in themselves, as it seems to us Schwarz's system, consistently carried out, would make them. Another feature of Schwarz's ethics is the loose relation which it allows between ethics and religion. He even goes so far as to assert, erroneously, however, that Luther separated religion from morality. Schwarz indeed allows that the strictly moral man, by virtue of his ethical view of the world, must reach the fact of God. But this he admits only as a parallel of other ways of reaching God, for example, that by way of our sense of dependence, which he regards as the distinctively religious, and that by way of the doctrine of causality, which he calls the scientific method. To his mind the religious discovery of God by means of our sense of dependence does not involve any ethical element. This may be a valid conclusion from the standpoint of psychology, but it does not square with the history of religion in general, nor with Christianity in particular. Whatever may be said of other religions, Christianity demands that religion and morality be not separated either in theory

or in practice. The result of Schwarz's study along this line simply adds another to the already numerous evidences that true religion cannot be deduced by thought, but is a revelation from heaven.

Hermann Gunkel. While he is not altogether the first of modern scholars who has considered the religious significance of Genesis, still he is the first of them who has seriously undertaken to write a commentary whose principal stress should be laid upon the meaning and religion of the first book of the Old Testament. See his *Genesis, übersetzt und erklärt* (Genesis Translated and Interpreted), Göttingen, 1901, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. Gunkel says that if anyone will be a theologian he must study religion, and everything else must be subsidiary. Any treatment of the Old Testament which is chiefly philological, archæological, or critical fails to meet the needs of the time. As a consequence of this basal view he is not content with pointing out that Genesis is a collection of myths, but shows that myth is not falsehood, but rather a kind of poetry whose purpose is to arouse, elevate, and influence the reader, and that anyone who deals with the stories of Genesis without that thought in view must fail to do them justice. He thinks that modern investigators, while they have rightly regarded Genesis as a written collection of popular oral traditions, have gone wrong in two particulars: 1. They have treated the book too much as a book, instead of trying to gain a clear conception of the oral traditions that lie behind it; 2. They have treated the sources of Genesis as constituting a unity, whereas it is the very nature of a popular myth that it is individual. He denies what he regards as the assumption of the modern literary critical school, namely, that stories are just as old as our evidence of their existence would indicate. He says that we can in no wise be sure that the late date for the origin of a document is a proof of the late date of its contents, thoughts, or style. He divides the myths into primitive, patristic, and Israelitish, the order of mention indicating the order of their origin, and thinks that they were, on the whole, so early that they were practically in the form in which we have them by the year 900 B. C. He thinks also that the primitive myths were largely Babylonian in origin, the patristic Canaanitish, while the Israelitish were, of course, indigenous. Nevertheless he holds that the foreign material was so thoroughly adapted to the genius and religion of the Israelites that if we could follow the inner history of these myths there would be thereby unfolded to us the whole history of the religious, ethical, and æsthetic development of ancient Israel. Originally Gen. i, ii, iii, xviii, 1-16, and xix were polytheistic. The story of the tower of Babel arose among barbarians who were not acquainted with the Babylonians, while the story of Joseph contains evidence that it was originally Egyptian. It will thus be seen that while he lays the principal stress upon the religious aspect of Genesis he has his own critical theory concerning it.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Le Quatriéme Evangile, son origine et sa valeur historique (The Fourth Gospel: Its Origin and Historical Worth). By Jean Rèville. Paris, 1901. E. Leroux. That there is really nothing new in this book is excusable on the ground that its purpose is rather to state the present position of the majority of the critical school than to make the gospel of John the subject of an independent investigation. The question of the origin of the gospel is made dependent upon that of the residence of John the apostle for a considerable period in Asia Minor. He supposes, with many others, that the fathers of the latter part of the second century confused John the apostle with John the presbyter, who was actually the author of the fourth gospel. But our chief source of information concerning this presbyter John is Papias, who speaks of him as a disciple of our Lord, presumably intending thereby to place him among the immediate followers of Jesus. If this is the case we are shut off from making the presbyter the author unless we are willing to assign the gospel to the first century, in which case we might as well allow the apostle to be the author. It is also worthy of notice that although Eusebius criticises Irenæus's confusion of the two Johns he nevertheless does not question the tradition which gives the apostle a lengthy residence in Asia Minor. And while it is true that the postapostolic literature gives us no notices of the apostle's residence in Asia Minor, it is equally true that that same literature is practically silent on the presbyter. So that we have little better proof of the activities of the presbyter than we have of the apostle. Yet men are willing to accept the presbyter when they will reject the tradition of the apostle. If there is no reason to think that the apostle wrote the fourth gospel, surely there is nothing to prove that it was written by the presbyter. In general Rèville denies the literary activity of the apostle on the ground of the difference of style and concept between the Apocalypse and the fourth gospel. But this argument is almost valueless, since between the date of the Apocalypse and that of the fourth gospel there is a space of perhaps thirty years. Besides, the critical school is pretty well agreed that the Apocalypse is a composite of Jewish and Christian ideas, the latter being incorporated with the former by some Christian; so that the argument from the difference between the two writings is rendered valueless by the very conclusions of the critical school.

It is a tolerably strong defense of the traditional view of the origin of the fourth gospel that the progress of biblical criticism and of research in general cuts away the grounds upon which the rejection of the traditional view is based. One thing at least there is to comfort us who have steadfastly held to the Johannine authorship of the fourth gospel, and that is that the younger scholars are not so sure we are wrong as the critics of twenty-five years ago were.

Geschichte der katholischen Kirche im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. IV *Band*, I *Abtheilung. Das vaticanische Concil und der sogenannte Culturkampf in Preussen bis zur Anknüpfung von Verhandlungen mit Rom* (History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century. Vol. iv, Division 1. The Vatican Council and the So-called Culturkampf in Prussia to the Beginning of Diplomatic Communications with Rome). By Bishop Heinrich Brück. Mainz, 1901, F. Kirchheim.

It is clear that the standpoint from which Bishop Brück presents the history of the Culturkampf is, as might be expected, strictly Romanist. But while a Roman Catholic bishop may not surprise us when he takes the side of his own Church in the account of that notable struggle, he ought to have felt himself bound, as a writer of history, to avoid giving his feelings so large a place in what he has written. He fails utterly to appreciate the motives which actuated the Prussian government. And when occasionally he mentions the professed grounds of action on the part of the great Iron Chancellor he proceeds at once to inform us that the grounds alleged were not the real grounds, but that these were in reality the hatred of liberalists and Freemasons against all aggressive Christianity—that is, against the Roman Catholic Church. Bismarck comes in for a large share of this abuse, and Brück charges him with ignorance of Roman Catholic doctrine and government, and with caprice, falsehood, and the like, and even goes so far as to suggest that he purposely picked a quarrel with France for political and religious ends. There can be little doubt that the Prussian government made some serious mistakes in conducting the Culturkampf—mistakes which have had to be rectified at the expense of no small humiliation to Germany and final advantage to Rome. But the honesty of Bismarck cannot be impeached, and none but a Romanist partisan would have written as Brück has written. Everything Prussian is either belittled or vilified, while everything ultramontane is lauded and idealized. We cannot help asking ourselves whether the time will ever come when Roman Catholic writers will play fair with the topics they treat. For Brück not only shows his prejudice in dealing with Bismarck, but everywhere else, when a point can be gained for Romanism by a one-sided presentation of facts. For example, he strives to make it appear that there was practically no difference of opinion among the bishops before and during the Vatican council concerning the doctrine of papal infallibility. Again, in dealing with the banishment of the Jesuits from Germany he goes so far as to declare that the similar fate of the Jesuits in the eighteenth century was the work of the Revolutionists, the Encyclopædists, and the Atheists, wholly disregarding the fact that Pope Clemens XIV was on the side of this despised list of enemies, and that to-day some of the most bitter and relentless opponents of Jesuitism are found among the loyal Roman Catholics of all countries.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Can the Pope Designate His Successor? Repeated reports to the effect that Leo XIII wishes the cardinal secretary, Rampolla, to be his successor, and that after the death of the present pope a bull of his will be promulgated which will designate Rampolla, make it desirable that the uninitiated should know the actual possibilities in the case. Professor Hollweck, a high Roman Catholic authority, asserts that the pope cannot make the method of designation legal, nor even follow it, under ordinary circumstances; but that if the pope should at any time regard designation by himself as necessary, or specially advantageous, to the welfare of the Church under definite conditions, he may himself determine his own successor if at the same time he annuls the right of the cardinals to elect in the given instance. Professor Hollweck deduces this right from the words, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven," addressed to Peter, Matt. xvi, 19. Whether Leo XIII will use this alleged power will doubtless depend on whether he deems it necessary in order to make sure that his successor will carry out his policy in relation to the secular authorities of Italy.

A Proposed Cathedral at Spires. An attempt has been made in Spires to erect a magnificent church edifice to commemorate the "protest" which the evangelical minority of the diet of Spires handed in on April 19, 1529, against the prohibition of the further spread of the Reformation. Already thirteen hundred thousand marks have been spent, but the project seems about to fail because the four hundred thousand marks necessary to the completion of the edifice are not forthcoming. There is a good deal of opposition in Germany to the whole project on the ground that the event which the Church would commemorate is not itself of sufficient importance, but especially on the ground that the professed reason which led to the undertaking was really the desire to rival the Roman Catholic cathedral of Spires in splendor. Thoughtful men all over Germany declare that it is no part of Protestantism to rival the extravagances of Romanism, and that the expenditure of so large a sum for a church which is not needed is wrong when so many parishes are suffering for lack of suitable church and school accommodations. It cannot be denied that there is much force in this contention. Certainly, the higher interests of the Church community should never be sacrificed for mere show. But against these arguments other men equally able and conscientious declare that no recent movement has been so popular as that at Spires, and that all the condemning allegations against the movement are false.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

In *The American Journal of Theology* for July (Chicago) the articles are by Professor A. C. McGiffert, on "The Origin of High-Church Episcopacy;" by Professor A. O. Lovejoy, on "Religion and the Time-Process;" and by Dr. T. Allan Hoben, on "The Virgin Birth." In the "Critical Notes" Dr. C. M. Mead, of New Haven, Conn., criticises an article on "The Transfiguration Story," which appeared in the April number of the same *Journal*, as a specimen of what he calls "intuitional criticism"—the sort of criticism that has the faculty of clairvoyance or second sight and can look straight through the air across nineteen centuries and see just what must have been the facts in apostolic times. Intuitional criticism is shown working by the method of first rejecting the recorded narrative of events and then substituting statements which have not one particle of historical or exegetical basis, and which we are asked to accept solely on the authority of the far-leaping intuition of the intrepid critic. When the recorded words of Paul do not suit the critic's theory or wish, the critic thinks that Paul was unfortunate in his use of language and did not say what he ought to have said nor what he meant; "for," says the critic, "it is psychologically inconceivable" that things should have happened as Paul, according to the record, said they took place. Dr. Mead says: "This argument from psychological inconceivability is a very convenient one to some critics. I remember once hearing a German theological student emphatically affirm that it was psychologically inconceivable that the mother of Jesus could have had any other children to bring up. How much more expeditious and easy to settle that vexed question in this way than bother with the various Marys and Jameses! And so, at last, clairvoyant, intuitional criticism brings us to this: It finds all the various accessible witnesses to the facts of the early Christian Church to be untrustworthy. They disagree with one another too much or they agree too much; and in either case they come into collision with the psychological make-up, or peculiar nervous temperament, of the critic. And accordingly the only satisfactory way left us of getting at the facts, it would seem, is to trust entirely to the unerring aim and adequate range of the phenomenal intuitions of our gifted modern seers."

Principal Salmond, of Aberdeen, in *The Critical Review* for July (London), notices together Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* and Cheyne and Black's *Encyclopædia Biblica*, comparing the one with the other. The more he examines these two imposing works the more deeply is he impressed that the Hastings *Dictionary* is "the better and more reliable guide, and much nearer what a Bible Dictionary ought to be." Congratulating the publishers, editors, and

contributing scholars on the successful completion of a work of such magnitude, he says that the program originally announced to the public has been carried out with distinguished ability, unfailing skill, sound judgment, and admirable fidelity. Dr. Salmond selects for special commendation in the Hastings *Dictionary* the article on "The Psalms," contributed by Professor W. T. Davison, of Handsworth College, England, and says: "It would be difficult to point out any treatise on that subject that will match this for concise, comprehensive statement and judicious use of the critical faculty." The Aberdeen principal's opinion is that Hastings's great work "is likely to rank for long as our most valuable Bible Dictionary." As to the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, he says that its unhappy peculiarities and ineptitudes largely diminish its value. Where we want solid facts and materials for forming our own judgment it disappoints us, and puts us off with a multitude of private opinions and thin speculations which have no basis in fact, but are in most cases flimsy and sometimes flippant. Though this is not true of the whole work, it pervades it to such an extent as to damage very seriously the trustworthiness and scientific character of the work. In such articles as are subscribed by Cheyne, Schmiedel, Usener, and Van Manen, we take leave of sober criticism and take flight into the realm of fancy, the land of marvels, where the conjurer performs; and when he waves his wand Epistles and Gospels go whirling about like autumn leaves in chill December winds, the sport of the critic's whims. Some articles in the *Encyclopædia* are poor and inadequate. Some which are brilliant are brilliantly insane; some which display learning show learning gone daft; and some, like those on "Mary" and "The Nativity," are painful and shocking to read. "Our good friends Jerahmeel and the Jerahmeelites are always cropping up, and a place is made for them in the most surprising quarters by the help of smart conjecture and fine cutting and carving of the text. To meet them once or twice may be diverting. To have them pressed so often on our notice is fair neither to them nor to us. Let us get away from their scenic forms to something plainer and more substantial." So feels Dr. Salmond.

The dominant chord of courage in the works of the author of "Rabbi Ben Ezra," "Prospice," and "Paracelsus" inspires Martha Baker Dunn to write in sprightly and witty fashion in the August issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* (Boston) on "The Browning Tonic," which she regards as the precise stimulant most needed by this twentieth century, especially by "that dominant sex which habitually calls itself 'the stronger,' the sex of assured intellect and logical mind." It is her opinion that the man of to-day is suffering from that weakening of fiber which inevitably accompanies a dearth of convictions. She modestly thinks that if she, "only a woman, neither scholar nor critic, a shallow adventuress going at the quest in haphazard fashion," has been able to discover the true elixir, a real

tonic for the soul, why, almost any masculine gentleman may, if he will. She entered the Browning country by the great gate of "Prospice." Before long she wandered into the thickets of "Paracelsus," and at least got some of the message of that aspiring and struggling nature,

> Ever upward tending, although weak,
> As plants in mines, which never saw the sun,
> Yet dream of him, and guess where he may be,
> And do their best to climb and get to him.

She found in it all the battle cries of all the ages, and the confidence born of all the victories that have been. She says the Browning notion of victory, however, does not necessarily imply getting what one wants. It often means just keeping eternally at it, and realizing that surrender is the only defeat:

> But what if I fail of my purpose here?
> It is but to keep the nerves at strain,
> To dry one's eyes and laugh at a fall,
> And baffled, get up and begin again—
> So the chase takes up one's life, that's all.

Among the men whom this tingling and sometimes stinging essay regards as in need of "The Browning Tonic" are the large and varied classes who spend their days in offering continual sacrifices to their bodies. Here is this vivacious preacher's exordium: "When the hero of the popular short story is not eating or drinking he is smoking. In joy or sorrow, in the most romantic no less than the most commonplace moments the hero 'lights another cigarette.' Emotion unaccompanied by nicotine is something of which he evidently has no conception. It is the same, too, with the up-to-date young man in real life. He knows, if he has been properly trained, that while a toothpick should be indulged in only in that spot to which Scripture enjoins us to retire when we are about to pray, a meerschaum pipe is a perfectly well-bred article for public wear, and one which enables him to fulfill agreeably that law of his being which suggests that he should always be putting something in his mouth. At a college ball game not long since where, as is usual on such occasions, clouds of incense were rising to the heavens from the male portion of the spectators, I amused myself by observing a young man who sat in a carriage near me, and who while the game was in progress smoked a pipe three times and filled in all the intervals with cigars and cigarettes. I knew something about him, and had frequently heard him referred to as 'a first-rate fellow,' but if anybody had asked him if he believed himself capable of a single pure impulse of the soul entirely unmixed with bodily sensations he would have stared in amazement. Rabbi Ben Ezra's test,

> Thy body at its best,
> How far can that project thy soul on its lone way?

would have struck this young man as a decidedly 'fresh' inquiry. A

certain pictorial advertisement which for a long time held a conspicuous place in the daily newspapers would, however, have appealed to him at once. It depicted a youth with a pipe in his mouth, holding his sweetheart on his knee, and rapturously exclaiming, as he diligently puffed the smoke into her face, 'With you and a pipeful of Every Day Smoke I am perfectly happy!' Old Omar gives us a more poetic version of the same thing:

> A Jug of Wine, a Loaf of Bread—and Thou
> Beside me singing in the Wilderness—
> O, Wilderness were Paradise enow!

I am not desirous in this essay of discussing the morality of any habit, as such; I simply wish to emphasize the fact that constant self-indulgence of any kind is incompatible with strength. The Browning tonic which I would like to substitute for the proprietary medicines of the age does not inspire any man to be an angel before his time—it only stimulates him to be a *man* and master of himself;

> A man for aye removed
> From the developed brute; a God though in the germ.

The tonic in question is not an expensive remedy except in the amount of effort required on the part of the patient to render it efficacious, but it is perhaps a little too bracing to be taken in large doses until the spirit of it has begun to steal into one's veins. If, for instance, the young man of the ball game should begin before breakfast in the morning with

> What have I on earth to do
> With the slothful, with the mawkish, the unmanly?

follow it up at about the time of his after-breakfast pipe with

> I count life just a stuff,
> To try the soul's strength on,

manfully swallow an afternoon dose of

> When the fight begins within himself
> A man's worth something,

and substitute for his usual nightcap,

> Why comes temptation but for man to meet
> And master, and make crouch beneath his foot,
> And so be pedestaled in triumph?

he might at first find such a sudden influx of red blood into his veins a little more than his system could bear, but, in due time, if the prescription were persevered in, he might learn to welcome the joy and the strength of the new elixir of life. 'Don't you get a little weary of hearing life compared to a battlefield?' the athletic young man inquired when the rhetoric of these prescriptions was discussed in the family circle. 'Call it a football field, then,' I retorted. 'If you are going to play at all, one has a perfect right to expect you to get into the game.'"

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Varieties of Religious Experience. A Study in Human Nature. Being the Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion Delivered at Edinburgh in 1901, 1902. By WILLIAM JAMES, LL.D., Professor of Philosophy at Harvard University. 8vo, pp. 534. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $3.20.

If some man rising from the reading of this book should remark that it offers more of vital and practical interest to the Christian student and especially to the minister of religion than any other series of lectures ever delivered on the Gifford Foundation, we would not at this moment, just after our first rapid reading, be in a mood to contradict that opinion. If the critic should add that these twenty lectures stand in marked contrast with Gifford Lectures in general, and must have been listened to with considerable surprise by Professor James's Edinburgh University audience, he would only be agreeing with the lecturer himself, who here and there says, "I fear I am beginning to jar upon the nerves of this academic audience;" "You may think such things should hardly take so large a place in dignified Gifford lectures." Any adequate or analytic discussion of such a book as this is impossible within the limits of an ordinary book notice. It is certainly a noteworthy contribution to the scientific experimental study of man's religious constitution and appetites—an entirely modern study containing and interpreting such researches as have been prosecuted by George A. Coe and E. D. Starbuck, to whom it acknowledges obligation. The lecturer is not a theologian, nor a scholar learned in the history of religions, nor an anthropologist, but a psychologist, who finds the religious propensities as interesting as any other facts pertaining to man's mental constitution, and who attempts a descriptive survey of the religious feelings and impulses, aided chiefly by the records of subjective experiences furnished in works of piety and autobiography by articulate and fully self-conscious men—men most accomplished in the religious life and best able to give an intelligible account of their ideas and motives. His attempt has brought together such a variety of testimony concerning phases of religious experience as can hardly be found in any other one volume. We could make palpitating and entrancing pages here, and exhibit to some extent the nature of the book, by simply quoting extracts haphazard from those collected testimonies. The chapter titles outline meagerly the course of the lectures: "Religion and Neurology," "Circumscription of the Topic," "The Reality of the Unseen," "The Religion of Healthy-mindedness," "The Sick Soul," "The Divided Self and the Process of its Unification," "Conversion," "Saintliness," "The Value of Saintliness," "Mysticism," "Philosophy," "Other Characteristics," "Conclusions." For the purpose of his lec-

tures Professor James defines Religion thus comprehensively: "*The feelings, acts, and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the divine.*" In the same broad, generic way the religious life includes the belief that the visible world is part of the more spiritual universe from which it draws its chief significance; that union or harmonious relation with that higher unseen universe is our true end; and that prayer or inner communion with the Spirit of that universe is a process wherein work is really done, and spiritual energy flows in and produces effects, psychological or material, or both, within the phenomenal world. Religion includes also the following psychological characteristics: 1. A new zest which adds itself like a gift to life, and takes the form either of lyrical enchantment or of an appeal to earnestness and heroism; 2. An assurance of safety and a temper of peace, and, in relation to others, a preponderance of loving affections. Under the varying formulas of all religions there is a common nucleus in which they all agree. In all religions there are included two parts —an uneasiness, and its solution. The uneasiness, reduced to the simplest possible terms, is a sense that there is *something wrong about us* as we naturally stand; the solution is a sense that we are *saved from the wrongness* by making proper connection with the Higher Power. In his "Conclusions" the lecturer says, "By being religious we establish ourselves in possession of ultimate reality at the only points at which reality is given us to guard." In these lectures he seems bent on rehabilitating the element of feeling in religion and subordinating its intellectual part. He believes that Methodism follows, on the whole, the profounder spiritual instinct. He says that though the individual's religion may be egotistic, the axis of reality for man runs through the individual consciousness; and religion, keeping in touch with its private realities, is far less abstract and hollow than a science which prides itself on taking no account of anything private and individual. He justifies his method of treating his subject by affirming that "individuality is founded in feeling; and the recesses of feeling are the only places in which we catch real fact in the making, and directly perceive how events happen, and how work is actually done. Compared with the world of living individualized feelings, the world of generalized objects which the intellect contemplates is without solidity or life. . . . Religion, occupying herself with personal destinies and keeping thus in contact with the only absolute realities which we know, must necessarily play an eternal part in human history." Another sentence from "Conclusions" is: "Life, more life, a larger, richer, more satisfying life, is, in the last analysis, the end of religion. The love of life, at any and every level of development, is the religious impulse." One thing will strike the reader of these lectures, namely, that the mass of documentary testimony is so great and so heterogeneous that neither he nor the lecturer can

succeed in wholly digesting it. Quotations from superexquisite souls tempt us. This is from Emerson: "He who does a good deed is instantly ennobled. He who does a mean deed is by the action itself contracted. He who puts off impurity thereby puts on purity. If a man dissemble, deceive, he deceives himself, and goes out of acquaintance with his own being. Character is always known. Thefts never enrich; alms never impoverish; murder will speak out of stone walls. The least admixture of a lie—for example, the taint of vanity—will instantly vitiate the effect. But speak the truth, and all things alive or brute are vouchers, and the very roots of the grass underground there do seem to stir and move to bear you witness. In so far as a man roves from love, justice, temperance, he bereaves himself of power, of auxiliaries. His being shrinks, . . . he becomes less and less, until absolute badness becomes absolute death. The perception of this law awakens in the mind a sentiment which we call the religious sentiment, and which makes our highest happiness. . . . It is the beatitude of man. When he says, 'I ought;' when love warns him; when he chooses, warned from on high, the good and great deed; then, deep melodies wander through his soul from the Supreme Wisdom. Then he can worship and be enlarged by his worship. All the expressions of this religious sentiment are sacred and permanent in proportion to their purity. The sentences of the olden time which ejaculate this piety are still fresh and fragrant. And the unique impression of Jesus upon mankind—Jesus, whose name is not so much written as plowed into the history of this world—is proof of the subtle virtue of this infusion." Here is a passage of great beauty from Amiel's *Journal:* "Shall I ever again have any of those prodigious reveries which sometimes came to me in former days? One day, in youth, at sunrise, sitting in the ruins of the castle of Faucigny; and again in the mountains, under the noonday sun, above Lavey, lying at the foot of a tree and visited by three butterflies; once more at night upon the shingly shore of the Northern Ocean, lying with my back upon the sand and my vision ranging through the Milky Way—such grand and spacious, immortal, cosmogonic reveries, when one reaches to the stars, when one owns the infinite! Moments divine, ecstatic hours, in which our thought flies from world to world, pierces the great enigma, breathes with a respiration broad, tranquil, and deep as the respiration of the ocean, serene and limitless as the blue firmament—instants of irresistible intuition in which one feels one's self great as the universe. What hours! what memories! The vestiges they leave behind are enough to fill us with belief and enthusiasm, as if they were visits of the Holy Ghost." Here is a similar record from that interesting German idealist, Malwida von Meysenbug: "I was alone upon the seashore as all these thoughts flowed over me, liberating and reconciling; and I was impelled to kneel down before the illimitable ocean, symbol of the Infinite. I felt that I prayed as I had never prayed before, and knew now

what prayer really is: to return from the solitude of individuation into the consciousness of unity with the Highest—to kneel down as one that passes away, and to rise up as one imperishable. Earth, sea, and heaven resounded as in one vast world-encircling harmony. It was as if the chorus of all the great who had ever lived were about me. I felt myself one with them, and it appeared as if I heard their greeting: 'Thou too belongest to the company of those who overcome.'" Martineau shall furnish the closing extract: "If we cannot find God in your house or in mine, upon the roadside or the margin of the sea, in the bursting seed or open flower, in the day duty or the night musing, in the general laugh and the secret grief, in the procession of life ever entering afresh and solemnly dropping off; then I do not think we should discern Him any more on the grass of Eden or beneath the moonlight of Gethsemane. Wherever God's hand is, *there* is miracle; it is simply indevoutness which imagines that only where miracle is can there be the real hand of God. The customs of Heaven ought surely to be more sacred in our eyes than its anomalies; the dear old ways, of which the Most High is never tired, than the strange things which He does not love well enough ever to repeat. And he who will but discern beneath the sun, as he rises any morning, the supporting finger of the Almighty, may recover the sweet and reverent surprise with which Adam gazed on the first dawn in Paradise. It is no outward change, no shifting of time or place; but only the loving meditation of the pure in heart that can render the Eternal a reality and reassert for Him His ancient name of The Living God."

Ecclesiastes and Omar Khayyam. By JOHN FRANKLIN GENUNG, Author of *What a Carpenter Did with His Bible.* 12mo, pp. 32. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, ornamental, 25 cents.

The Amherst professor's subtitle calls this "A note for the spiritual temper of our times." He explains to us the revived popularity of Omar Khayyam's poetry from its long years of neglect, and thinks this revival a sign of sanity and health, freighted with good sense and good cheer. We find ourselves unable to go all the way with him. Some skepticisms may have rendered some service in putting faith on firmer foundations, but to temper Christianity with paganism is to tamper with the glorious Gospel of the blessed God. We cannot quite see the helpful mission of old Omar to the Christian mind of the twentieth Christian century. A Hindu named Ranji came to New York, and put out his sign on Fifth Avenue, "Restaurant Omar Khayyam." The walls of the restaurant were hung with Indian draperies, hanging lanterns radiated a dim light, queer music was banged and sawed out of queer instruments, gurgling nargilehs diffused odorous smoke, and swarthy waiters in big turbans and voluminous white robes served many kinds of curry and other oriental dishes. But heathen cookery did not fascinate Christian palates. Ranji's failure to attract patronage was commented on

by a local journal thus: "New Yorkers have had Omar Khayyam served up in many forms, but evidently they do not want to eat him." The verdict of the coroner's jury over the remains of the restaurant was, "Too much Omar Khayyam;" and that is the verdict we would pronounce over not a little of current literature—over such fiction and poetry, for example, as Thomas Hardy's. A desecrating, desolating, and darkening literature it is. As Professor Genung says, "Omar is epicurean and agnostic to the last degree; he recognizes no future beyond the failing breath, no God more gracious than fate, no occupation nobler than to drink wine and read verses." We are skeptical about the possibility of getting any valuable gospel out of such an author. That Omar resembles, or is even identical with, some skeptical and despondent moods expressed by the writer of Ecclesiastes may be perfectly true; and it is not for us to deny that Ecclesiastes has some sobering message to the high noon of Christian civilization. But we seldom read Ecclesiastes at family prayers; the men of the twentieth century are not living in that old book; the modern world has moved on into the New Testament. It is a long journey from Ecclesiastes to Jesus of Nazareth and from Omar Khayyam to Paul the apostle, and the races which are the flower of mankind have made that journey. After all that can be said for Omar we still feel, as we scan his features, that he is an anachronism, as much out of place in the spiritual life of to-day as the mummy of a Pharaoh would be at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. What we have written is, we are aware, a crude and hasty sort of comment, and is not intended to deny value to the book before us; for, altogether apart from Omar, it emphasizes effectively some of the lessons which Ecclesiastes still has even for the "heirs of all the ages in the foremost files of time." And we ought to say that our attitude of criticism is prompted not so much by anything Professor Genung has written as by the Omar Khayyam cult in general. Much of wise and timely is in this little volume. One *piercing* point is thrust into the quick of whatever intelligence and conscience we may have, when the author insists that it is of less importance what beliefs we hold concerning God and Christ and immortality than what we are doing with our lives under those beliefs and what kind of soul life we are maintaining. Many hold orthodox beliefs enough, but live self-indulgently, frivolously, sordidly, covetously, stingily. The last half of this book comes home with force. The text which it explicates and enforces is the conclusion in Ecclesiastes iii, 22: "Wherefore I perceive that there is nothing better than that a man should rejoice in his own works." Part of what our author writes upon this is as follows: "The writer of Ecclesiastes had tried every line of life to see what profit, what commercial reward, what exchangeable net proceeds, he could get; and from all alike came one result—vanity and vapidness. When it came to the question of *pay*, none of them really paid. But afterward, as he thought it over, it occurred to him that there had been

something he had overlooked. His soul had derived joy from his labor; the labor had been its own reward while it was in progress. [Who was it wrote, "Things won are done—joy's soul lies in the doing"?] His present heaven was in what that royally endowed soul of his could be and do, not in what he could sell it for. Alongside this conclusion of Ecclesiastes set the testimony of a busy, happy, robust, nineteenth-century William Morris, who once said: 'It seems to me that the real way to enjoy life is to accept all its necessary ordinary details and turn them into pleasures by taking interest in them.' . . . The true incentive to useful and happy labor is, and must be, pleasure in the work itself. Is not this true? To rejoice in tending a machine or wielding a pickax may not be easy or even possible; but one can rejoice in being, even with such implements, one of the world's producers, and in making his soul govern his work, whatever it may be. . . . The Preacher-sage of Ecclesiastes, back in the twilight period before the consciousness of immortality diffused by Christ had thrown new light on life's outcome and goal, built his conclusions to last. The nobler ideals of this Christian era simply mean nobler works to rejoice in, greater light to follow. Two millenniums of Messianic light have been led by Him who revealed a life worth having and a real immortality. Christ fed no idle curiosity about unseen places and states, but gave us a life to live whose fiber is eternal, a life in which we can rejoice always, whatever world we are in. His ministry has made it impossible for us to imagine that we can find joy in the works of the flesh. His spirit stirs within us, and causes shame and unrest, until we have committed ourselves whole-souled to work which will bear the Christian light in which we walk. . . . Omar's lazy rose-garden life can never minister joy to a soul in whom the Christ-spirit has stirred. Our age is in better business than making Persian idlers. . . . Nor is it the initial Christ-power alone that we have for impulse. We think also of the noble line of saints and heroes, of godly ancestors, of sturdy, strenuous history movements, of soundly laid public sentiment, all accumulating their centuries of incitement and power to make our work great. How much it means just to *live* to-day—to respond to the tremendous energy of spiritual light and motive that rolls in upon our souls, and to adjust our common activities to it! What better can we want for time or eternity? He who would be a great soul in the next world must be a great soul now. Rejoice that the revelation given us is not of future mysteries, but of the true greatness of manhood. In the hereafter the soul charactered and disciplined here will burst into full glory and bring forth fruit after its kind." Professor Genung regards the following as Omar's truest stanza:

> I sent my Soul through the Invisible,
> Some letter of that After-life to spell:
> And by and by my Soul returned to me,
> And answered, "I myself am Heaven and Hell."

The New and Living Way. By MILTON S. TERRY, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Christian Doctrine in Garrett Biblical Institute. 12mo, pp. 134. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

Few things are more worthy to be treated with attentive respect, welcomed, and prized than the fruits of a devout scholar's life-long prayerful study of the Word of God and the verities of the Christian life, offered to his fellow-saints and fellow-sinners in the ripe years of his maturity when his sifted learning is most likely to have become pure wisdom and when experiential tests have put him in possession of spiritual knowledge. Such is the reflection prompted by Dr. Terry's "orderly arrangement and exposition of the doctrines of Christian experience according to the Scriptures," which is a brief but comprehensive statement of the main facts, formulated in logical order, and expounded after the method of a strictly biblical theology, each doctrine being treated with due regard to its proportionate claims to the attention of the Christian believer. In contrast with writers who pay little attention to the exegesis and bearing of the scriptural teaching, and in contrast with those who devote much argument to the issues of old Calvinistic and Arminian controversies, now obsolete; in contrast also with others whose chief dispute is whether Wesley taught this or that particular form of this or that doctrine, Dr. Terry sets himself to the single task of ascertaining solely what the Scriptures teach. He avoids the use of words and phrases which savor of spent controversies. With the instinct and the direct method of the trained exegete, he goes to the original texts of the Bible, and brings forth from them precisely what they have to tell us of the experiences and possibilities of the NEW AND LIVING WAY which Jesus, the great Priest over the house of God, has opened for us into the Holy of Holies. He aims "to depict this WAY in its whole outline, not giving to justification, or to sanctification, or to the sacraments, or to any other one feature a disproportionate space, but assigning to every hallowed work of grace its true scriptural place and portion." The author has written this little book with the hope that it may serve as a probationer's guide to a scriptural understanding of the most vital truths of our holy religion; may furnish topics as well as a course of reading and study for various meetings of the Epworth League; and may be helpful as a class leader's manual to enhance the necessity of cultivating all the phases and possible experiences of a well-rounded Christian life. For these and other uses, it is a valuable compendium of Scripture truths, ascertained and tested by thoroughly scientific and critical methods of exegesis. It will be acceptable equally to the learned and to the unlearned, since, although it is a scholarly piece of biblical dogmatics, it avoids unnecessary technical words and dogmatic forms of speech. Much of its language is analogous to that of the Scriptures themselves, which even youthful adults of ordinary intelligence can easily understand. This survey of the "new and living way" which leads into "the secret place of the Most High" dis-

cusses consecutively in order sin and death; conviction of sin, repentance, and conversion; the doctrine of faith; forgiveness of sins, justification, and reconciliation; new birth and new life; sonship, adoption, assurance, and spiritual freedom; progress in spiritual life; means and methods of promoting spiritual life; and eternal life. The substance of these chapters wrought into a series of sermons or a succession of prayer meeting talks would impart saving knowledge and nutriment, and prevent the church from being a place where "the hungry sheep look up and are not fed." On one much-mooted point Dr. Terry says: "The age of serious controversy over the questions of time, place, subject, and mode of baptism seems to be past. The allusions to immersion, affusion, and sprinkling are numerous in the Scriptures, and all these modes of ceremonial purification have sufficient warrant to justify the personal choice of the individual believer. In the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (chapter vii) it is commanded to baptize in running water; but if that is not at hand, other water may be used, either cold or warm. It is also permitted to perform the rite by pouring water on the head. The practice of infant baptism is without any specific commandment, and also without the record of any clear example, in the New Testament. It has, however, been inferred from the mention of household baptisms, and from the analogy of circumcision, and may find a sufficient reason for itself in the obvious propriety of a public and formal consecration of children to God. We hold, accordingly, that, with or without scriptural warrant, it is to be retained in the Church." At the opening of chapter second is the following reference to childhood piety: "It is often seen that, during the period of childhood, pious example and careful religious training turn the tender heart toward God. The habit and sentiment of prayer may be inculcated as soon as the child learns to speak and is able to distinguish between good and evil. Such early piety may blossom into beautiful young manhood and womanhood, attain in time an admirable maturity, and exhibit a human life remarkably separate from sinners. But such examples are exceedingly rare." So writes Dr. Terry. As for ourselves, we have no means of knowing exactly how comparatively rare or frequent such cases may be. In more than twenty years of pastoral service we rejoiced in finding not a few children of godly homes who grew up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and who, considering their limited knowledge and immaturity, walked as consistently and showed as many of the Christian graces as their parents and other older members of the Church. One of the saints of our Church, Bishop Wiley, recorded with his own hand where all may read it that, looking back on his childhood and youth, he could not remember a time when he did not love God and all His people. Many years of studious observation have left upon our mind the impression that where the Christian home is what it ought to be such examples as Dr. Terry describes are not "exceedingly rare." We cannot help believing that

many a parsonage, and many a home of the devout laity, could tell of such cases maturing in its sweet, serious, sunny atmosphere, and that, if a roll call of missionaries now in the field were made, not a few could tell a story similar to that of Isaac W. Wiley, whose earliest and latest labors were in the foreign mission field, and whose grave at Foochow helps to consecrate great China to Christ. One Sunday afternoon, more than sixty years ago, a minister talked with his four little boys, explaining to them as simply as possible what it is to give one's heart to God and be a Christian. He asked if they understood, and they answered "Yes." Then he said. "If any one of you wants to give his heart to the Lord now, let him come and kiss me." The boys sat silent, thinking, for a while. Then one by one, with intervals between—the youngest, five years old, first; and the oldest, twelve, last—they came and kissed their father's face, wet with tears; kissing also, in that sacred act, the Son of God in token of reconciliation and love to the Heavenly Father. One of those boys, retired now from long, faithful, soul-saving service in the Gospel ministry, says: "If I ever gave my heart to the Lord that was the time when I did it." The writer of this notice wishes a like thing had happened to him before he was thirteen years old. It ought to happen in many a home consecrated by the family altar and faithful to Christ and His Church, where the law and spirit of the household is to fear God and keep his commandments.

The Teaching of Jesus. By GEORGE BARKER STEVENS, Ph.D., D.D., Dwight Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University. 12mo, pp. xii, 190. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

Professor Stevens essays in this book three things: to set forth the principles of Christ's teachings "in a clear, succinct, and systematic form;" to "translate the thought of Jesus into modern terms;" and to bring his sayings into "comparison with the Jewish religious ideas of his age, in order to exhibit the historical background on which his teaching was presented, and thus to bring out into clearer relief its striking independence and originality." These three essentials to a true appreciation of our Lord's mission have not been better done by either our British or German brethren. The historical background of New Testament times is set forth, of necessity, with great brevity, in the opening chapter, yet the entire work is written in conscious relation and true perspective to it. The beginnings of Gospel literature, another profoundly important and abstruse subject, are treated in comprehensive outline and an appreciation of the values involved. The methods of Jesus's teaching, especially in the parables of the synoptics and the allegories of John and his attitude toward the Old Testament, reveal to Dr. Stevens, as it must to every thoughtful reader, the vistas of Jesus's thought-world and the depth of his literary culture. But the bulk of the book is given to his direct teaching on the great ideas of universal theology and religion: "The Kingdom of God," "The

Father in Heaven," "The Son of Man and Son of God," "The Value and Destiny of Man," "The Natural and Spiritual Worlds," "The Religion of a Good Life," "The Means of Salvation," "The Believing Community, or the Church and its Commission," "The Second Coming," and "The Resurrection and Judgment." These are but the chief chapter headings, and yet they present to the serious Bible student a most inviting and thought-provoking catalogue. They are all, and always will be, exceedingly timely topics and worthy the consideration of both ministers and laymen; the last two chapters especially are worthy of the widest reading. We heartily commend this choice little treatise as the peer of any of its predecessors in this valuable series of "Handbooks on the New Testament."

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Essays of an Ex-Librarian. By RICHARD GARNETT. Crown 8vo, pp. 359. London: William Heineman. Price, cloth, $1.50.

These twelve essays, written within the last fourteen years, belong, with one exception, to the domains of literary history and criticism. They do not strive or cry, but are still and calm like the air of a library. Their opinions are the results of independent study, matured in long, intimate, tranquil intercourse with the literature they appraise. Their judgments are temperate, cool, and mellow; in their pages knowledge stands orderly and full, fact against fact, like books on alcove shelves. The author handles his subjects as fondly as a bibliophile handles his choicest books. The chapters are: "On Translating Homer," "The Date and Occasion of the Tempest," "The Poetry of Coleridge," "Shelley and Lord Beaconsfield," "The Story of Gycia," "The Love-Story of Luigi Tansillo," "Beckford's *Vathek*," "Thomas Moore," "Thomas Love Peacock," "Matthew Arnold," "Ralph Waldo Emerson," and "Shelley's Views on Art." The first essay begins: "Ever and anon the world receives from some bright spirit a tiny golden book—some Longinus on The Sublime, or Mill on Liberty—to which little can be added, and from which little can be taken away, in which the main outlines are perceived to have been traced for all time by the hand of a master. Such is Matthew Arnold's trio of lectures, 'On Translating Homer,' which lay down the conditions of success in Homeric translation." Of the host of translators of Homer, none have superseded Pope, largely for the reason that he uses the heroic couplet. Lord Derby's translation is into blank verse, which is prose cut into lengths; it does not, indeed, hide Homer, but it disarrays him of his singing robes. German translators have succeeded well because of the vast advantage of their polysyllabic language, which gives something of the grand roll and booming music of the Homeric hexameter. Chapman's translation has many fine lines, but their force is often less like the free sweep of the rolling sea than like the energy of the strong swimmer who buffets it. Professor Blackie's

rendering attains a smoothness which is sometimes perilously near to sing-song. Mr. Way's noble version of Homer often renders the clash and ring of the original, as in the lines which assert that one of the gods of Olympus has appeared and commanded the galleys to fight, the inspiring effect of his words as well as the brightness of his appearance giving proof of his divinity to one who saw, heard, and thus affirms it:

I followed the gleam of his ankles, the flash of his feet as they trod,
When he turned him away—the signs of a god which no man may mistake.
Yea, and within this breast of mine was my spirit so awakened
That it yearneth for fight, and battleward straineth more than ever before;
In my feet is the fury of onset; my hands are afire for the war.

Mr. Way augments the sonority and compass of his translation by largely profiting from the example of Mr. Swinburne, our modern master of impetuous and sonorous versification. "The Poetry of Coleridge" is a most satisfactory essay. Coleridge was a myriad-minded man of gigantic powers, the supreme critic of his age, and might have been its supreme poet; as a painter and musician in speech he is surpassed by none of his contemporaries. Yet his intellect and imagination were not in the highest sense creative; rather receptive and susceptible; his mind belonged to the class which require to be impregnated by contact with other minds. The quickener of Coleridge was Wordsworth, whose mind had more inventiveness and was nearer to the essential truth of things. Wordsworth opened to him a new world of beauty and life, the vision of which regenerated him so that his genius rose in joyous exaltation to enter and live in that ampler ether and diviner air. Then Coleridge's great powers unfolded and flourished in splendor, and he wrote as one who had fed on honey-dew and drunk the milk of Paradise. He is the connecting link between two centuries. His earliest work is in the style and spirit of the eighteenth century, his best belongs to the nineteenth-century school which moves in a higher and purer region, and does not owe its power chiefly to metrical expression and artificial diction. Kingsley was wrong in deploring with the pseudo-classic school that "Pope and plain sense had gone out, and Shelley and the seventh heaven had come in." Our essayist admits that Pope and Dryden were very considerable poets, but insists that poetry was not the prime consideration with them. Their most brilliant passages owe their splendor to exactly the same qualities as give distinction to Macaulay's prose—judicious choice of words, skillful disposition of them for rhetorical effect, sonorous utterance, cogent sense; all admirable qualities, but present in even greater degree in such prose as the Philippics of Demosthenes. They are not models of great poetry. Their useful function is the subordinate one of schoolmasters, not perceptors of the eternal principles of art, but powerful curbs on the extravagances of enthusiasm, and monitors of the importance of good style and good sense.

Coleridge is an instance of want of concentration, disabled by his constant indecision whether to be a poet or a philosopher, and so producing fragments instead of any great whole. He had a visionary scheme for effecting a marvelous reconciliation of all contradictory philosophical systems which would leave nobody any excuse for differing with anybody else. Without disparagement of the poetic brilliance of "The Ancient Mariner," "Christabel," "Kubla Khan," "Genevieve," "The Nightingale," "Frost at Midnight," and "The Wanderings of Cain," we find most profit in those spermatic prose writings by which Coleridge has deposited seeds of thought in innumerable minds. The writer of this notice testifies that few, if any, books have made for him such an intellectual epoch as did Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*. Shelley said: "Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world," and another says that poets embalm the spirit of their own age, and hand its volatile essence down to posterity in a compact and clarified form. One of these essays is devoted to showing the influence of Shelley on Disraeli, whose "Revolutionary Epic" bears blazoned on its very front its indebtedness to Shelley's "Revolt of Islam." Flippancy and meretriciousness, bombast and bathos, mar the writings of Disraeli; he was no poet; but the character of Theodora in his *Lothair* is one of the noblest in modern fiction, and he was a brilliant, original, and powerful person whom no adverse circumstances could have suppressed or frustrated. William Beckford observed in the eighteenth century what we ourselves have noticed later, that the general infirmity of commentators is that "they study to display themselves rather than to explain the author;" another peculiarity is that they disappoint us at the only places where we really need them—namely, on the difficult passages; and they provoke the remark that the Scriptures throw a good deal of light on the commentaries. The central thought and lesson of Beckford's "Vathek," as of Southey's "Curse of Kehama," is that the full fruition of the sinner's desire is the sinner's worst punishment—to be filled with the legitimate fruit of his own devices is the bitterest curse of his career. A significant remark about Byron is that he never made a real friend after his native pride had been fostered into egotism by immoderate success and by being flattered and idolized. Thomas Moore was Byron's satellite and acolyte, but had small comfort in that relationship; he could not love Byron, and he was horribly afraid of him. "The satellites of Jupiter may revolve in peace, but it is an awful thing to be the satellite of a comet which may at any moment rush off into space." The origin of Moore's "Lalla Rookh" is given as follows: Moore, being in urgent need of money, contracted with Longmans to give them the best metrical romance ever written on condition of receiving the highest price ever paid. So high was the publishers' estimate of Moore's talent and conscientiousness that they agreed in advance to pay fifteen thousand dollars for any poem he might produce. Moore's conscientiousness was highly developed,

and especially in pecuniary matters he was nervously sensitive and delicately honorable. His most conspicuous foible was manifest in his recording the handsome things others said of him. His most captivating virtue was a manly independence almost attaining the heroic. Mr. Garnett thinks that except Tennyson's "Edward Gray" no modern poem is so difficult to read without tears as Matthew Arnold's "Sohrab and Rustum;" thinks also that tenderness, even more than depth of thought, is Arnold's strong point as a poet; thinks, too, that his nearest parallel among English poets is Gray, both being academic poets in whom refinement of taste degenerated into fastidiousness, but that Arnold produced nothing equal to Gray's immortal "Elegy in a Country Churchyard." And Arnold has not Tennyson's poetic brilliancy, nor the amazing force manifest in Browning's intense etchings. O. W. Holmes called Emerson's oration on "The American Scholar" our intellectual declaration of independence, and Lowell said of it: "We were socially and intellectually moored to English thought till Emerson cut the cables and gave us a chance at the dangers and glories of blue water." Preachers will appreciate the pungent truth of the statement that "the ideologist judges the man of action more shrewdly and justly than the man of action judges the ideologist," and will understand why Napoleon felt such animosity toward "ideologists." Bonaparte felt instinctively that the man of ideas could see into him and through him, and could recognize and declare his place in the scheme of the universe as an astronomer might a planet's. It vexed him to feel that he was something whose course could be mapped and his constitution defined by a mere "ideologist" like Coleridge or De Staël, who could show him, as Emerson showed the banker, that he was "a phantom walking and working amid phantoms, and that he need only ask a question or two beyond his daily questions to find his solid universe proving dim and impalpable before his sense." The essay on Emerson compares him with Benjamin Franklin: "Franklin was a great sage, but his wisdom was worldly wisdom—a sort of prudential morality. Emerson gives us morality on fire with emotion and enthusiasm—the only morality which in the long run will really influence the heart of man. Man is, after all, too noble a being to be permanently actuated by enlightened selfishness. From Franklin to Emerson is a great stride forward."

The Theology of Modern Fiction. By THOMAS G. SELBY. 8vo, pp. 192. London: Charles H. Kelly. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This is the twenty-sixth Fernley Lecture. It is divided into five chapters, which discuss the theology found in the works of George Eliot, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Thomas Hardy, George MacDonald and the Scottish school, and Mark Rutherford. The lecturer is well known on this side the sea by several volumes of sermons. In his introduction he says that the large amount of theology in solution which is diffused through all the higher literature of fiction has

evidential force of no mean order, inasmuch as it shows that religion is an ineradicable element of human nature and life, and that even in writers who have repudiated dogma there is an irreducible quantity of theology out of which cardinal articles of the Christian faith may be built up. The books which mirror human society veraciously must always be more or less religious and furnish some of the rudiments of the faith, and so must witness to innate and indestructible convictions of the human heart. Mr. Selby thinks nature meant George Eliot for a great theologian, as well as a superb interpreter of human life and character; but the Coventry Socinians, the task of translating Strauss, and the sinister influence of George Henry Lewes turned her into a nominal agnostic. Yet she never entirely lost the Christian sympathies of her early life, and even the most depressing of her books have more than a lingering aroma of religion and illustrate principles which are fundamental to the faith. In her own soul there was a residuum of theology which nothing could destroy or volatilize, and she was forever seeing the elements of this theology verified in the manifold phases of life. For one thing, a stern, intelligent, sleepless principle of moral retribution works through all her plots. She had no scruple against preaching the terrors of the law. She invokes the forces of inanimate Nature for the punishment of the evildoer. Again and again she makes the fall of the Tower of Siloam sagaciously retributive, though she takes care to put the right kind of victims under the tower before it begins to topple. Her treatment of character and its issues is invested with all the solemnity of a religion, and the elements of a very orthodox theology pervade her interpretation of life. She has nothing of the ethical anarchy which underlies much of recent fiction. Conscience is authoritative in the breast, and a clear-eyed, deep-searching, inexorable providence of judgment watches over human life. Chapter first considers her teachings as to the trustworthiness of the moral instincts, responsibility and the day of grace, retribution, the ripening of character, guilt, and the demand for mediation. Discussing George Eliot's clerical portraits, most of which present clergymen of the Established Church, our lecturer thinks that the finest of these characters is "the fusty little old Independent preacher, Rufus Lyon, hot against State Churches, bristling with innocent little pedantries, broadening his Calvinistic theology to make room for the salvation of the frail little Frenchwoman whom he befriends and marries. Lyon commands far more veneration than the fox-hunting rector, John Lingon, who can swear a round oath on occasion, and is gifted with a broad humor and a love of wine." (America has to-day one popular rector who keeps his communion in a tremor of apprehension because it cannot be foreknown whether, on a public occasion, he will swear or pronounce the apostolic benediction.) "One is made to feel that Rufus Lyon, the obscure preacher, is the better man and the more capable spiritual guide. In delicacy of moral sense, in his pure and

spiritual unworldliness, in his inflexible fidelity and adherence to right, he far outshines any of the surpliced Laodiceans who walk through George Eliot's narratives." But, after all, the finest teacher of essential Christianity George Eliot has painted is the girl gospeler of the village green at Hayslope. "In Dinah Morris the holy, believing, compassionate spirit of early Methodism has been more perfectly presented to the world than in the pages of our best ecclesiastical historians. Dinah Morris could come down from the Mount of Transfiguration to boil a kettle or tidy up a kitchen. If the modern preacher can achieve such spiritual results as she did, he need not hanker after more valid orders; he may be content to be in the line of Dinah Morris, in whom the apostolic continuity is more obvious than in any of the rectors whom George Eliot portrays. Simple, unpretending, soul that she is, Dinah Morris, with no 'Reverend' to her name, holds direct spiritual lineage from the company with the Master in the upper room. Her eye is single, her whole body is full of light; and neither on the wheelwright's cart under the village maple nor in the cell of Stonington jail as she prays and exhorts through the long night-watches does a single word miss its gracious mark. There is a sublime unerringness, a starlike constancy, about this unaffected preacher of a gospel which saves; and the secret of her power is told in the apostle's words, 'Love never faileth.'" George Eliot teaching that duty may be clear, whatever doctrine seems in doubt, makes Dolly Winthrop say, "There's some things as I never feel in the dark about, and they are mostly what comes in the day's work;" and the noble wisdom of devotion to duty speaks in the burly words of Felix Holt, the Radical: "The only failure a man ought to fear is failure in cleaving to the purpose which he sees to be best. As to the amount of result he may see from his work—that's a tremendous uncertainty; the universe has not been arranged for the gratification of his feelings. As long as a man sees and believes in some great good, let him work toward that in the way he's best fit for, come what may. I'd rather have the minimum effect, if it's of the sort I care for, than the maximum of effect I don't care for." Chapter second deals at length with the theology of Hawthorne's writings, his stern Puritan morality, his power in painting the world of conscience, his teaching of the inward punishment of sin, and the necessity and efficacy of confession. Mr. Selby truly says, "The wise, solemn, sagacious ethic of Hawthorne is a much-needed corrective to the ribaldry of those fools of ephemeral fiction who make a mock at sin and have no sense of its criminality before God." Chapter third considers the misdirected genius of Thomas Hardy, who swims in heathenism and swinishness, and who teaches the illusiveness of the moral instincts, the vanity of ethics, the moral imperviousness of Nature, the rule of an evil Fate over human lives, the cruelty of the order which punishes gentle sinners, the fitfulness and futility of spiritual motives, and that catastrophe

and chaos are the final end of all things. Hardy's evangel seems to be that the devil has been manifested to destroy the works of virtue, justice, and righteousness. As is most suitable for such a foul, black creed, the note of hopelessness is in the undertone beneath his immoral faithlessness. He treats religion as a mirage, and his estimate of professional Christianity may be gathered from his description of Christminster, put into the lips of an illiterate carter: "'Tis all learning there—nothing but learning, except religion. And that's learning, too, for I never could understand it. Yes, 'tis a serious-minded place. You know, I suppose, that they raise parsons there like radishes in a bed. And though it do take five years to turn a lirruping hobbledehoy chap into a solemn preaching man with no corrupt passions, they'll do it if it can be done, and they'll polish 'un off like the workman they be, and turn 'un out wi' a long face and a long black coat and waistcoat, an' a religious collar and hat, same as they used to wear in the Scriptures." Chapter fourth brings us out of Hardy's Wessex and its immoral stench and squalor into Caledonia, where heathenism and its swinishness do not flourish, if we may judge from the writings of George MacDonald, Crockett, Barrie, and Ian Maclaren. The bleak, austere Calvinism of Scotland, now repudiated by most of its children, produced high spiritual results, some of which are portrayed by the Scotch novelists of to-day, whose influence is a purifying force, bringing health, hope, and happiness. The school of which MacDonald is the patriarch is entirely sweet in its ethical temper, and not ashamed to confess and cherish the faith and hope of the Gospel. Without accepting everything taught in his theology, it is fair to say that to know the chief characters of George MacDonald's earlier works is a blessed means of grace. His testimony to the breadth, diffusiveness, and perennial energy of God's redeeming love is a natural, even when excessive, reaction against the narrow spiritual clannishness to which High Calvinism tends. The universal Fatherhood of God is the dominant doctrine in the theology of the Scottish school of fiction, and some inferences are drawn from it which honest New Testament exegesis cannot support. Our lecturer says: "The theology of MacDonald is affable, gracious, winning, but can we trust it? Is it Scriptural? Is it what Christ taught and all that He taught? A theology that is more firm and ethically exacting may be more true to the constitution and condition of human nature than a smooth, soft theology, which analysis shows to be the product of mawkish tenderness, poetry, amiability, and ethical laxness. We would like to see MacDonald's amiable teachings produce a nineteenth-century revival matching that of the eighteenth." The last chapter, on Mark Rutherford, considers the ebb and flow of faith, a rehabilitated Calvinism, pantheistic extravagance, the genesis of atheistic socialism, free love, and fatalism. A few closing words on the fiction and theology of the future end this interesting volume.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The French Revolution and Religious Reform. By WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, L.H.D., LL.D., Seth Low Professor of History in Columbia University. 8vo, pp. 333. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.

Eight lectures on "The Morse Foundation" before Union Theological Seminary of New York, in 1900, are here expanded into fifteen chapters, which aim to show that ecclesiastical fanaticism, both positive and negative, was chief among the causes of the French Revolution. As Mediævalism cannot be explained without prominent recognition of the unifying political influence of the Church, so secular histories of the revolutionary epoch, taking small account of Church influence, are utterly inadequate. The Roman hierarchy in France was in the eighteenth century the most influential estate of the realm, its iniquities having been long concealed by the splendor of its traditional prestige; and the obstructive political influence of the Church, opposing the current of reform, dammed up the tide of progress until it burst all barriers and swept all institutions and traditions away into temporary chaos, with a roar and a crash unparalleled. Ecclesiastical despotism exerted in social and political affairs was the great provocation. What Voltaire called L'Infâme was not Christ nor Christianity, nor even Romanism, but the real and absolute tyranny secured by a corrupt union of ecclesiastical and secular power. Chapter second here presents Voltaire's indictment of that greedy and monstrous tyranny, and narrates how he made himself the resolute champion and public avenger of various victims of the murderous persecutions carried on by that vicious and malignant tyranny. Among these victims was the family of Paul Sirven, a Protestant notary of Castros. His eldest daughter was seized in her home by order of the Romish bishop, and sent to a nunnery, where, under the efforts to convert her to Catholicism, she became insane, in which condition she was returned to her family. Their care in shielding the unfortunate girl was maliciously interpreted into persecution of a new convert to Romanism. In spite of the family vigilance, she eluded their care and drowned herself. Her father and mother were held responsible for her death and at once accused of infanticide. The entire family, menaced with worse than death, fled through winter's snows across the mountains to Switzerland. They put themselves under the protection of Voltaire, who so ably pleaded their cause that a reversal of sentence was compelled from the court. "Fancy," exclaimed the old man of Ferney, "fancy four sheep accused by a butcher of having devoured a lamb." Under this gigantic system of oppression—the confusion of temporal with spiritual power, the enormous stolen wealth and scandalous impositions of the prelacy, and the persecuting cruelty of the Church-State alliance—no true life, religious, moral, or intellectual, was possible. No wonder that strong and thoughtful men of all views and names—Protestants, Jansenists, Gallicans, deists, atheists, anarchists—formed one grim, determined resolution to

demand and obtain liberty, differing vastly though they did in their ideals of freedom and their chosen methods of seeking it. And this determination was a chief and comprehensive cause of that terrific tempest of wrath, frenzy, and ferocity known as the French Revolution, as is shown in Professor Sloane's masterly chapters. His analysis of the process which led Voltaire to desire the divorce of Church and State, and caused Mirabeau to cry aloud for the decatholization of France, and moved the vile Hébert to demand the dechristianizing of the land, is as follows: "The first step was taken when, under awful fiscal pressure, the ecclesiastical estates were declared forfeit; the second was when a recalcitrant hierarchy was dissolved to find its substitute in a primitive and presbyterial organization; the third was the attack on Christian worship, the attempted substitution in its stead of an atheistic, a deistic, and an eclectic heathen cult, each in its turn; the fourth was the reintegration of the social atoms under the Concordat of 1801." "The Carnival of Irreligion" is depicted in a vivid and terrible chapter. All church bells were ordered to be cast into cannon; all priests were stigmatized as harlequins and puppets, and all religious services as superstitious and hypocritical. Fouché inscribed over the gates of cemeteries, "Death is eternal sleep." Sunday was abolished and made a day of enforced labor. Catholics and Protestants alike renounced their religion. One country village discarded all Christian saints and set up Brutus as its patron divinity. The Religion of Reason was proclaimed. The great cathedral of Notre Dame, in Paris, was consecrated to be a Temple of Reason, as were twenty-five hundred other churches. On November 10, 1793, in Notre Dame de Paris, a notorious opera-dancer appeared in costume, personating the Goddess of Reason, and was so saluted with a kiss by the president of the legislature. Reason was made the enthroned divinity of France, as the crazy climax of the wildest revel of delirious unreason ever enacted in this mad world. The organizers and high priests of this cult of Reason vied with one another in devising new kinds of orgies, and the shocking saturnalia went on continually until June 8, 1794. When, after seven long beastly and fiendish months, the savage voluptuaries who found their opportunity in social chaos were sated, when revolutionary France could no longer endure the groans of prisoners from every convent building far and wide throughout the desolate land, nor bear the reek of blood which flowed from guillotines in every market place—when, in short, hell had no unspent fury left to turn loose on suffering humanity, then at last the lean and bilious Robespierre came forward with the proposition to restore the Supreme Being to His place; and for that purpose he instituted another festival, the "Festival of the Eternal." Robespierre, uttering to the Convention his confession of faith, and posing as the inexorable; consistent, upright man, was characterized by one of his contemporaries as follows: "He has all the marks, not of a religious but of a sectarian leader; he has cultivated a reputation

for austerity, such as suggests sanctity; he calls himself a friend of the poor and the weak; he climbs upon a chair to prate of God and Providence; he collects a following of women and feeble-minded persons, and solemnly accepts their homage; when danger threatens he disappears; Robespierre is in nature a priest and will never be anything else." A poor old woman, named Catharine Théot, who celebrated strange rites in a dreary garret, styled Robespierre the "Redeemer of mankind, the Messiah of the prophecies." Such blasphemous absurdities made him ridiculous, and mocking contempt hounded him to his death. The final act in the religious history of France during the revolutionary epoch was, as Professor Sloane says, the Concordat of 1801, arranged between Bonaparte, the young general who at thirty had become master of France, and Pope Pius VII, a treaty which still seems to many a wonder of statesmanship, for it held good under the Empire, was overthrown, then reestablished, and, after various vicissitudes, was incorporated in the fundamental law of France, remaining operative to this day under the present Republic substantially as it was adopted under a monarchy. A Machiavellian diplomat was Bonaparte. In Italy he posed as an orthodox Roman Catholic, in Egypt as a Moslem, in France as a radical. Once he said to Consalvi, "When terms cannot be had from God you must come to an understanding with the devil." Our author says that, to-day, the extraordinary power and wealth of the new Romish religious orders, not included under the Concordat because not in existence in 1801, are a menace to governmental authority in France. Those new orders, which to-day conduct the education of the upper classes almost entirely, care for the sick very extensively, and print the most widely circulated journals of France, defy all authority except that of Rome. The placing of these orders under some measure of State control is becoming a necessity, and the situation may force France on to disestablishment, which seems, of course, from our standpoint, the ultimate goal of true religious liberty.

The Messages of the Prophetic and Priestly Historians. By JOHN EDGAR MCFADYEN, M.A. (Glas.), B.A. (Oxon.), Professor of Old Testament Literature and Exegesis in Knox College, Toronto. Square 16mo, pp. xx, 362. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.25 net.

This is the fourth volume in the "Messages of the Bible" series which is being published under the general editorship of Professors Sanders and Kent, of Yale University. It contains a paraphrase, which often becomes rather an epitome, of the historical contents of the books of the Old Testament from Genesis to Esther, inclusive. Each division of the work is preceded by an introduction popularly presenting the facts relating to the composition of the several books or documents and the leading ideas of the several historians. This introductory matter is well written and will prove serviceable to those who use the volume. As to the paraphrase of Scripture, it is mechanical work at best, and the author, hampered by his limi-

tations, is not himself as he is in the introductions. He has, however, done the work well, and if paraphrase be deemed of great service anywhere his labor ought to have a good chance for usefulness. It may be questioned whether the histories of the Prophetic and Priestly historians, respectively, in the Hexateuch ought not to have been arranged on opposite pages, instead of being placed as wholes in different parts of the volume. We can best understand the special features of each of these histories by a comparison which strikingly appeals to the eye. The treatment of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Ruth, and Esther represents brilliant work and is given in a form which will make it useful to both special scholars and general Bible students. The results of the author's fine comparative work on Chronicles, in their relation to Samuel and Kings, are so clearly set forth that they may be understood at a glance. The analysis of the text in Ezra-Nehemiah rests upon too subjective a basis, in our opinion. This work is marked by thorough, careful scholarship throughout, and may be trusted in its conclusions as fully as any of the more elaborate special works which cover the same ground. There is a wisely chosen list of reference books at the end of the book.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Principles of Western Civilization. By BENJAMIN KIDD. 16mo, pp. 538. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $2.

A book upon a great theme, and, upon the whole, worthily presented. Its purpose is to show the ruling principles of modern civilization as distinguished from ancient and mediæval; and of Western civilization—that of Europe and Anglo-Saxon America—as contrasted with Oriental. It is not exactly a history of civilization, nor a view of modern lands; but rather an effort to dig below the surface of politics and statesmanship, to find the foundations upon which modern empires are reared. Our national pride—perhaps our national vanity—is somewhat gratified, as we find that this author considers the United States as showing to the world modern and Western civilization at its best. The wide popularity of an earlier work by the same writer, who is known to be one of the most careful students of world-politics in our time, will doubtless secure for this volume many readers. But not all who begin its pages will finish them, and some who from a sense of duty read the book through will wonder what it is all about; for its style is involved and cumbrous; it makes no pretense of being prepared for the general reader; it uses everywhere technical terms, and requires the most recent edition of the dictionary to be close at hand; and it cites—also quotes from—many authors known best among specialists. Yet those who grapple with it and persevere will grind out from it some chaff, to be sure, but also much good wheat in the form of fruitful ideas.

METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1902.

ART. I.—THE RELIGIOUS USE OF ADVANCE IN SCIENCE.

IN discussing the relation between religious worship and the study of nature confusion in the use of terms is almost unavoidable. Religion and science have been treated as if they were occupied with entirely different realms of mental activity, whereas the former indicates the spirit and the latter the method of investigation. Learning must subserve the ends of faith, and reverence is an essential qualification for research. Nature has also been set apart from spirit, though the latter is as real as flesh or foliage. An idea or an emotion is as much of a fact as a brick or a melon. Granting that thought is a product of phosphorus and life a mode of electricity, it must be admitted that the spiritual is not scientifically transcendent and faith is a reasonable exercise. Religion and science, nature and spirit, with similar opposites, are not mutually exclusive, but complementary. A bold student is not necessarily a blasphemer, neither need a religious devotee be a hypocrite or a fool. "Religion," says John Fiske,* "is the largest and most ubiquitous fact connected with the existence of mankind."

It is to be regretted that the organized Church has often been placed in an attitude of apparent hostility to the progress of knowledge, especially in the realm of material nature. With religion as paramount, ecclesiasticism, until recently representing all that is dearest to the human heart, has comprehended or directed every form of activity, so that

* *Through Nature to God*, p. 189.

all discovery or progress would touch the prerogatives of the Church. Hence conflict would naturally arise between ardent thinkers and indolent functionaries. Idle superstition always attracts a multitude of admiring votaries, some of whom have been ensconced in positions of eminence and power. Still, religious teachers, however bigoted, have usually fostered learning. Herbert Spencer admits that "The religion current in each age has been as near an approximation to the truth as it was then and there possible to receive."* The Church is not nearly so bitter toward the heralds of fresh, genuine, and invigorating doctrine as many would have us think. Some students who show a fondness for posing as martyrs are often shocking persecutors. Now and then dogmatism is apparent in the professed scientist, and skepticism in the ecclesiastic. Spencer, acknowledging this anomalous condition, says, "Religion has struggled to unite more or less science with its nescience; science has kept hold of more or less nescience as though it were a part of science."† "There is a kind of science which mistakes itself for omniscience."‡ It requires more genuine courage now in refined circles to honestly question than to precipitately acquiesce in the latest dictum of the laboratory.

Those who officially administer the ordinances of worship and guide in religious exercise must keep in mind that this is an age in which unusual attention has been given to the investigation of material nature, and that the results in discovery, invention, and achievement have been astounding. The development doctrine, at this time so widely accepted, leads irresistibly to the conclusion that each generation will improve on its predecessor, though this does not imply that the world has not been active and wise until now. Every century has been progressive. Phenomenal strides were taken in the reformation era of Columbus, Gutenberg, and Luther. Renan allows that the work of the twentieth century may "consist in taking out of the waste basket a multitude of

* *First Principles*, p. 116. † *Ibid.*, p. 106.
‡ Vandyke, *The Gospel for an Age of Doubt*, pp. 12-14.

excellent ideas which the nineteenth century had heedlessly thrown into it." Another Shakespeare may be impossible. Kidd* asserts that such as Cicero, Horace, Tacitus, Socrates, Phidias, and some in the Reformation era have surpassed in intellectual development the average human product of Western civilization in modern times. In this view he is supported by Gladstone, and by Galton, who claims that the average ability of the Athenian race is about as much above ours as ours is above that of the African negro. Mind, however, more recently has been engaged with almost incredible success in exploring the realms of chemistry, astronomy, geology, biology, and physics, so that the scene of intellectual action has been shifted and the conditions for the cultivation of the spiritual nature have been correspondingly affected. Several leading scholars were asked, not long since, to name ten thinkers who had most influenced the intellectual life of the last century. All accorded the first place to Charles Darwin, who was followed at some distance in the category by Hegel. Evidently, Christian teachers who assume a position adverse to the study of nature's phenomena will find themselves arrayed against a mighty force. It may be bad policy to oppose; it is worse to despise.

Specialists in any department are entitled to respectful consideration. True, a professional worker's range of vision may be extremely narrow, as in the case of Darwin, who became incapable of reading or appreciating Shakespeare. Poetic sentiment may be utterly chilled by laboratory analysis. On the other hand, how unwise it is for a clerical amateur to assume the rôle of an authority or arbitrarily to reject what adepts have demonstrated. Equally ridiculous is the position of some secular scholars who antagonize the faith of which they possess no sympathetic comprehension. There is need for a better understanding, and the antagonism by and by will cease. Though one† has truthfully asserted that "Science has no place for the word 'faith' in its lexicon," yet Spencer repeatedly declares that "Religion has dimly dis-

* *Social Evolution*, pp. 122, 252–256. † Morris, *Man and His Ancestor*, p. 3.

cerned the ultimate verity."* It is "a truth beyond cavil,"† while "the beliefs which science has forced upon religion have been intrinsically more religious than those which they supplanted."‡ It is not necessary that evangelical teachers should suspect the enunciation of unfamiliar truth. Being confident in our faith, we may be sure there is nothing to shake the ultimate foundations. Religion is not imperiled by fresh statement. Scientific discovery, therefore, ought to be welcomed and utilized. Scholars are authentically commissioned to collate facts and make observations which will tend to a broader view of the glory of the Omnipotent. Excommunication of truth-seekers is a most unfortunate as well as an unseemly proceeding. If Church officials use the conveniences accruing from the progress of invention in the mechanical arts, they should not peremptorily throw aside as harmful or dangerous the more recent accumulations of knowledge that are not yet adjusted to mediæval creeds. In spite of all opposition or condemnation the real truth will be finally accepted. Those who incline to receive it graciously will obtain the largest benefit.

Shall the latest discoveries in science be flaunted from the pulpit? Most people are mentally unprepared for the consideration of facts which have not taken their fixed place in encyclopedia. Religion, essentially conservative, is expected to abide in trustworthy conditions. It will exert a salutary influence on the mental processes by refraining from the utterance of disturbing or alarming statements before their relations to general truth have been accurately determined. The pulpit is not an arena. It is to present and apply indisputable truth. Every preacher ought to be a student. Some may be original discoverers, like McCook, whose work on spiders is accepted by advanced scholars, but usually the Gospel herald will find all his energies engaged to persuade his hearers to appropriate those religious principles, natural and supernatural, which are fully established. If it is not his business to teach science in the sense usually accepted, neither

* *First Principles*, pp. 17, 23, 99. † *Ibid.*, p. 100. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

is it his duty to preach against it. In either case he is likely to expose his ignorance and alienate scholarship from the Church. The affirmations of science, while often in conflict with certain conceptions of interpretations of the Scriptures, are not necessarily contrary to the germinal truths of the Bible. It must ever be kept in mind that the processes and criteria of Aryan and Semitic thinking are somewhat different. The former is philosophical, analytic, practical; the other, intuitive, sentimental, susceptible. A modern student comprehends with difficulty the Hebrew's conception of natural phenomena. An Israelite, keenly sensitive to external influences, would jot down impressions just as they occurred at the instant. The response of his soul, as of a clear-toned bell, was so sweet and apt that it would be at once accepted as an exact, complete, and permanent expression of truth. His descriptions and interpretations of personal impressions were so distinct, vivid, and ingenious that they came finally to be regarded as historical verities. While listening to the voices of nature he was little inclined to perplex himself with unpoetical reflections. Quick to respond to divine impulse, the Semitic mind, which produced the whole of both the Old and the New Testaments, has become the channel by which faith and religious feeling are conveyed throughout the world.

As spiritual sensation transcends material nature, its impressions must be recorded in figurative terms. An unknown God, or rather a God who will never be fully known, must be described, as far as Deity is so conceivable, by expressions that can be grasped and understood. If a revelation of the supernatural is limited to precise and exhaustive mathematical statements confusion and contradiction are inevitable. The existence of the absolute will be flatly rejected. Thus the astronomer Lalande definitely asserted "that he had swept the entire heavens with his telescope and found no God there." Many great thinkers are incapable of using metaphor. Hence Moses is criticised by those who are unable to comprehend the form of his work. Hebrew speech is a gal-

lery of tropes and pictures without which faith cannot be depicted. Too often even admiring believers look only at the picture, as if it were all the author meant to present. Romanes* remarks that preconceived ideas on the matter of inspiration have prevented a true interpretation of the first chapters in Genesis, which were poetically written. Surely this view of the form and purport of the Bible literature need not be regarded as shocking and impious when the most strictly orthodox have abandoned the opinion, once universally held, that the universe was created from nothing in six actual days of twenty-four hours each. While the traditional conceptions of revelation were accepted by the Israelite, to him there was always something beyond the historical presentation. Every incident contained its moral truth which inspired him with courage and patience in the conflict of existence. Moses and the prophets were far more to him than bare chroniclers. Ideal conditions assumed historical form to be subsequently realized. Modern mind is not so likely to misconstrue the book of Revelation as the book of Genesis, but the first and last chapters of the Bible are identical in purpose. With this understanding preachers of the inspired word will not worry or stultify themselves in the attempt to harmonize apparent discrepancies or account for inexplicable or omitted details. Better plunge into the depths for the pearls than to flounder in the seaweed near the surface. While the Bible contains essential truth, and as may be firmly believed is in harmony with all truth as it is discovered, it certainly does not record all the conditions on which truth will be apprehended or applied. If the sacred book is handled in the same temper in which it was composed it will appear so apt and comprehensive that it may be confidently received as infallible in principle, if not exact and specific in detail. It is invariably reconciled to the truth to which it is given to bear witness.

Reverent scholarship of every age subserves the same purpose for which the Holy Bible was inspired. Science, like

* *Thoughts on Religion*, p. 140.

the word, is hostile to fetichism, idolatry, or any theology that conceives of contending deities in a limited realm, as valley or hill, sickness or the chase, war or love. Modern research stringently demands uniformity of law in the universe, which is only another way of asserting the Bible truth that there is one God who created the heavens and the earth. "Magnetism, heat, light, etc., which were a while since spoken of as so many distinct imponderables, physicists are now beginning to regard as different manifestations of some one universal force.* "The creation is genetically one."† Recent discoveries in the material world, achieved under the inductive system of thought, may serve to bring out and not to blur the impression which an inspired book has authoritatively implanted. Happy are they who are willing that modern knowledge, acquired by intense personal application, unprejudiced investigation, and even mental pain, should throw fresh light on the spiritual verities. "The only real question is, what may nature further teach science, and what more may faith learn from the science which nature is teaching new truth."‡ When believers came to understand more fully what research in astronomy and geology had demonstrated it was seen that the declarations of the inspired record conveyed a larger meaning. Thus the methods and extent of the creative process have been more specifically described in terms of modern philosophy.

The study of biology, the latest development of organized science, has caused much perturbation in certain circles of theological teaching. It need occasion no alarm, though some sincere people may be somewhat jostled in being adjusted to the new position. There are many earnest Christian believers in the ranks of the evolutionists. Henry Drummond declares that the development dictum is the most satisfactory statement yet made on the processes of existence. Evidently it is more prudent to await further light than to dispute incontrovertible facts. Theologians have so long accustomed

* Spencer, *First Principles*, pp. 42, 43.
† Newman Smyth, *Through Science to Faith*, p. 12.
‡ Newman Smyth, *The Place of Death in Evolution*, p. 63.

themselves to a machine theory of creation that it is quite different for them to recognize in Genesis any other than a literalistic, precise, exhaustive account of the beginning, and that the end of it. The most important purpose of the record, all must admit, is not to chronicle the origin of man, but to describe his nature and show his relative position in the universe. If evolution leads to the conclusion that man reached his present state through progressive steps rather than by a momentary act of divine power, supernatural interposition is not denied and man is not necessarily degraded, or robbed of his spirituality. "Instead of abolishing a creative hand, evolution demands it."* No doubt some one will be tempted to facetiously reply that Darwin and his disciples may be willing to grant that they have descended from an ape, but high-minded Christians can never be content with such ignoble ancestry. Is man really degraded because in the long history of his race career it appears that he was of lowly origin? The modern Englishman delightfully tells the story of his ancestor, the hideous, uncouth Briton of less than fifteen hundred years ago. Darwin expresses his astonishment on seeing a party of Fuegians for the first time, and confesses that he would as soon be descended from an heroic little monkey as from an indecent, cruel savage.† When the Bible declares that the human body was made out of the dust of the ground it is only another way of saying that his physical frame is composed of elements, directly or indirectly, derived from air, water, and vegetable or mineral matter, much of which has been converted for his purpose by other animals. Does it matter whence we come if we are surely going on to God? When the divine agency is interposed to animate and sanctify these lumps of clay as is asserted in the words, the Lord God "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life,"‡ the dignity of human existence is distinctly described and positively allowed. No disciple of modern evolution will pick a quarrel on that score. Courtney is thus quoted by Pro-

* Drummond, *Ascent of Man*, p. 329.

† *Descent of Man*, p. 643, T. Y. Crowell & Co. edition.

‡ Gen. ii, 7.

fessor King:* "I *was* an anthropoid once, a mollusk, an ascidian, a bit of protoplasm; but whether by chance or providence, I am not now. When I was an ape I thought as an ape, I acted as an ape, I lived as an ape; but when I became a man I put away apish things. Man's moral nature is what it is, not what it was."

Nature in the light of evolutionary philosophy at first blush may seem to be immoral. Must all except the fittest to survive perish without pity? Is the divine nature so harsh? Science cannot enunciate a moral theory of the universe. The microscope has not been adjusted to display mental emotions. In view of what the Roentgen rays reveal, it cannot be foretold what light science may yet throw on social and individual relationships. Drummond has suggested a "missing factor in current theories," termed by him "the struggle for the life of others." If the problem is still dark and painfully mysterious we must not hide our eyes from the fact. The deists of a former century charged the preachers of biblical theism with describing God as a cruel savage. Bishop Butler, who also said, "I design the search after truth as the business of my life," showed in his masterly *Analogy,* which has not yet been superseded, that the same objection could be raised against the operations of the nature in which his opponents professed belief.† This inexplicable condition is frankly recognized in 2 Thess. ii, 7, 8, and following: "The mystery of lawlessness doth already work: only there is one that restraineth now, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall be revealed the lawless one, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth." In the Christian's protest against wrong he may well utilize the labors of those who, though perhaps not in avowed sympathy with him, aid in determining the immutable laws which govern the world, and cannot be ignored without penalty. "A man that hath set at naught Moses' law dieth without compassion."‡

* *Reconstruction in Theology*, pp. 87, 88.

† "Butler might have written a much better treatise had he known about evolution as the general law of nature."—Romanes, *Thoughts on Religion*, p. 182, note.

‡ Heb. x, 28.

Moses was supernaturally wise in outlining moral truth which subsequent investigations by science and faith are constantly developing in detail and applying to the practice of the hour.

According to the philosophy of Hegel, heretofore mentioned as allowed second place in the rank of current thinkers, nature manifests itself in a contention of opposing forces. Thus possible degeneration is a necessary feature in the evolutionary process. Something must be cast off to make room for that which has the better right to be. This condition is spiritually portrayed in the story of the fall. Liability to degeneration does not necessitate degeneracy. Temptation is an essential condition of moral development. "There is a sense in which we may regard the loss of paradise as in itself the beginning of the rise of man."* Waste and decay may be important and salutary provisions for gain and improvement. Paul repeatedly exhorts the saints to "put off the old man with his doings."† Science recognizes and depicts depravity. It may deal only with the material phases of the fact, but it gives timely warning of what may be expected.

If Darwinism does not so far contemplate a spiritual conformation, it does not deny that it is possible. The suggestion that man may become an angel is made more plausible. True, it has been thought that transference to the celestial state consists in an instantaneous act, while the development principle implies a gradual process that may be described and to some extent understood. Is the work of God belittled by an effort to investigate and explain it? Professor Asa Gray thus quotes some writer: "It is a singular fact that when we can find how anything is done our first conclusion seems to be that God did not do it." Romanes‡ more gracefully expresses the same thought: "Whether tacitly or expressed, it has always been assumed by both sides in the controversy between science and religion that as soon as this,

* Fiske, *Through Nature to God*, p. 7.
† Eph. iv, 22; Col. iii, 9.
‡ *Thoughts on Religion*, pp. 128, 129.

that, and the other phenomenon has been explained by means of a natural causation it has thereupon ceased to be ascribable ('directly'—*Editor Gore*) to God."

"The new creation" is demanded by the argument of science. Men must be transformed, naturally or supernaturally it matters not, but only through the gracious intervention of divine power. Dr. Vandyke affirms that evolution "looks forward to the discovery of an Incarnation which shall be at once the crown and the completion of the process."* Evolution, instead of destroying the hope of immortality, when rightly understood, presupposes an argument for the indefinite continuance and improvement of life. Drummond, in his *Ascent of Man,* says: "Evolution has done for time what astronomy did for space." Mother earth is much older than some have believed. Cycles of ages are necessary to account for the changes and differences that appear. A scientific view of eternity, if such is possible, only aids the human mind in its reverence for Him who "of old laid the foundations of the earth."† After looking backward and now forward we have the right to anticipate further transformations approaching the perfection of the divine image as contemplated in John's First Epistle.‡ "Life tends toward perfection. The personal will to live is an argument for immortality. The body seems to have reached its development. Mind and soul continue to evolve."§

The longings of faith are always outside and in advance of the objects of knowledge. Religious aspiration constantly reaches forth into an unseen beyond which by the advance of science moves farther and farther away. Learning, instead of dispelling mystery, only multiplies the unsolved problems which pious minds, however much perplexed, may regard with humble confidence. Without painful study life would lose much of its zest. It is ordained by sweat of mind man shall eat the spiritual bread which conditions eternal life. We cannot surmise what human search will next disclose, but

* *The Gospel for an Age of Doubt*, p. 115. † Psa. cii, 25.
‡ Chap. iii, 2. § *The Gospel for an Age of Doubt*, p. 115.

we are assured that it will be what sanctified hope has long anticipated and true faith has already seized. Thus prophecy moved by the Holy Ghost is "as a lamp shining in a dark place."* It is not to be expected that all the difficulties which confront evangelical belief, in consequence of recent discoveries in science, will be at once removed. The story of evolution is itself a development, and is related with all the imperfections of human mind. Each investigator must repeatedly revise his own work. Knowledge grows in spite of differences and disagreements among biologists. There has been much advance since Darwin, Wallace, and Haeckel. That the last word will never be spoken is an oft-reiterated principle of modern science.

No doubt many questions can be raised that the suggestions of this article do not answer. It is submitted on the theory that it is better to be friendly than to appear hostile to scientific progress. It is unwise to adopt a form of argument which, if the contrary is proved, leaves no standing ground. There is nothing to dread from scholarship. Truth is always kind. Let theologians keep step with the procession rather than expose themselves to the danger of being run over. What science plainly reveals may be promptly embraced and utilized.

*2 Pet. i, 19-21.

John Poucher

Art. II.—OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE: A STUDY IN PAULINISM.

Our present preaching and thinking do not emphasize the pardon of sin as did our fathers, as did St. Paul, as did Jesus Christ. At least in many quarters there appears a tendency to ignore if not to deny the fundamental truth of justification by faith alone. For instance, Dr. McGiffert represents Paul's doctrine of salvation to be this, that "Christ saves a man by entering and taking up his abode within him." "Another man . . . might have believed that . . . in virtue of a merely substitutionary sacrifice of Christ [God] could pronounce a sinful man righteous and grant him life, but Paul could not." "Christ had redeemed him by making him completely one with himself." "Thus the righteousness of God, or the righteousness of faith, of which Paul has so much to say, is not primarily, as he uses it, a forensic or legal term, but stands for a real thing, the actual divine righteousness or righteous nature which man receives from God when he receives God's spirit."*

Here is a confusion of things that differ, the objective and subjective aspects of salvation, pardon, and renewal.

I now proceed, in a positive rather than a polemical spirit, to investigate the relation of these two sides of salvation in the teaching of Paul. The gist of the question is this: Is there a subjective element in justification, or is that entirely objective, essentially the pardon of sin and the restoration of the sinner to a right relation with God, revealed in consciousness by the witness of the Spirit? Moreover, how does Paul connect the new life with justification? Is it the ground of justification, or the direct fruit, or the concomitant of it?

In this discussion I use the term "new life" as wider and more accurate than our usual theological term "sanctification." In theology, the term sanctification has been broad-

* *A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, pp. 129, 130, 131, 143.

ened out to signify the whole process of renewal, beginning in regeneration, running through the development of Christian character, and culminating in the glory of conformity to the image of God's Son. But in the New Testament sanctification is more specific, signifying consecration. I therefore use the term new life rather than sanctification, to cover the whole process of renewal and development.

Paul's Doctrine of Justification.

That Paul should have more to say than any other New Testament writer touching righteousness or justification is the natural result of his Pharisaic education and life. Pharisaic theology centered in the great conception of righteousness, that is, a right relation to God, conditioned upon the fulfillment of the law. The Pharisees thought of the law not as a system of sacrifices manifesting divine grace (as in the Epistle to the Hebrews), but as a system of moral and ritual precepts, strict obedience to which merited divine favor and constituted righteousness. This conception of righteousness pervades all Paul's thinking. But his religious experience taught him that the Pharisaic conception of the means of attaining righteousness was perverted. After the most strenuous efforts to attain righteousness in the legal way of doing and deserving Paul found himself bitterly conscious of the intolerable bondage of sin. In reading the immortal seventh of Romans we readily perceive that Paul stood far in advance of the average Pharisee, with the latter's externalism and hypocrisy. Paul was intensely real. To him righteousness was essentially a matter of the inner principles, choices, motives. To such a man the law was a pedagogue, leading him to Christ. Out of a keen sense of need he gladly laid hold of the grace of that Saviour who appeared to him on the way to Damascus, found peace in the assurance of forgiveness, and secured power for the higher life in the new creation by the Holy Spirit. Long had been the painful preparation, but sudden was the glorious conversion at the last. The significance to Paul of that blessed experience cannot be overesti-

mated. The main principles of his theology were henceforth present to his mind. He had looked upon the exact fulfillment of legal requirements, in their innermost stringency, as the only way to a right relation to God, righteousness, and had failed to attain what he sought. Now, however, by simple, self-abandoning trust upon Jesus Christ as Messiah and Saviour, he had found peace through his grace, apart from works of the law. Hence to Paul Christianity must mean not simply a new ideal and a new power of life, but specifically a system of pure grace—a way of salvation by simple faith, as contrasted with the Pharisaic conception of salvation by human doing and deserving. Pharisaism gave Paul the clear-cut conception of righteousness, that is, a right relation to God, a relation of acceptance with God, and his own religious experience gave him the conception of righteousness by grace, through faith.

The doctrine of justification, or righteousness, by faith and by faith alone, is rightly recognized as Paul's most characteristic doctrine. To him the *summum bonum* is evangelical righteousness (δικαιοσύνη), a right relation to God attained through faith. It is true that Paul does not always use the word righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) in the sense of this gracious relation of pardon. Not infrequently in his epistles, as in the rest of the New Testament, the term righteousness signifies right conduct and character. But the burning question is this: What do the terms *righteousness* (δικαιοσύνη), *justification* (δικαίωσις), *to justify* (δικαιόω) mean in the passages which describe the way of salvation? Do they express the idea of making righteous, subjectively; or of declaring and treating as righteous, objectively—*justum facere,* or *justum habere?*

The Roman Catholic theology, and some Protestant theologians, consider these terms as involving a subjective state. As Trent puts it, "Justification is not only the pardon of sins, but is also the sanctification and renewal of the inner man by the voluntary reception of grace." This view has been adopted in the supposed interest of holiness, as against antino-

mianism. The Protestant view makes justification an imputed righteousness, which logically precedes the imparted, and considers the act of justification as essentially the act of pardon, in which God graciously treats man as if he had never sinned and had always done his duty, accepting him into right relation to himself. That this conception was not originated at the Reformation is evident from sporadic expressions of earlier interpreters of Paul, as witness those memorable words of Bernard of Clairvaux: "Not to sin is God's righteousness; the merciful remission of God is the righteousness of man." This is an essentially objective conception—the conception not of a subjective change in man's attitude of thought and feeling toward God, but of an actual change in the relation of God to man and of man to God. Now which is Paul's view?

The history of the *usus loquendi* starts us right in this investigation, for Paul did not invent new terms but employed such as had long been in use with quite definite meanings. The verb *to justify* (δικαιόω) in classical Greek always means something other than to make just or righteous, subjectively. With the accusative of a thing, it means to think a thing right; with the accusative of a person, to treat justly, and often in the specific sense to condemn or punish. The LXX usage is of greater significance for New Testament usage. There we find the verb δικαιόω used to translate הִצְדִּיק, the Hiphil, and צְדֵק, the Piel of צָדַק, to be just, in the forensic sense of declaring or recognizing as righteous. This justification is either the recognition of the actual innocence and righteousness of an accused person (*justificatio justi,* δικαιοῦν τὸν δίκαιον, Deut. xxv, 1) or it is the pardon of the guilty (*justificatio injusti,* δικαιοῦν τὸν ἄδικον, Exod. xxiii, 7. The latter is forbidden to ordinary judges. But in all government such prerogative of pardon may be reserved for the sovereign, and may be exercised on adequate grounds. This latter is really the New Testament usage. There is only one passage in the whole Old Testament in which הִצְדִּיק is used in other than the forensic sense, namely, Dan. xii, 3, and there the sense is uncertain, and the LXX does not translate by δικαιόω, but

paraphrases. Moreover, although the LXX uses δικαιόω to translate other Hebrew words, it uses it only in a judicial or semijudicial sense.

This forensic sense of δικαιόω goes over into the New Testament, and in its twofold aspect. In the sense of the justification of the just, it is used of the final judgment of men according to conduct and character (Matt. xii, 36, 37; Rom. ii, 12, 13). In the sense of a gracious pardon of the guilty, we find it in our Lord's words in Luke xviii, 14. The publican, deeply conscious of guilt, had humbly sued for divine mercy. And Christ declares, "This man went down to his house justified (δεδικαιωμένος) rather than the other." This passage proves that although the conception of justification received its fullest treatment from Paul it did not originate with him.

The characteristic Pauline use of δικαιόω is forensic, in the sense of the pardon of the guilty. That the use is forensic is evident from the passages in which Paul speaks of righteousness "before God" or "in the presence of God," suggesting the idea of a court of justice and pleading before a judge (Rom. ii, 13; iii, 19, 20). In Rom. viii, 33 ("who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth; who is he that shall condemn?"), the forensic sense of δικαιῶν is evident from the antithesis with ἐγκαλέσει, which is a technical term for an accusation in a court of justice. In Rom. iv, 5-8, Paul makes the justifying of the ungodly and the imputation of righteousness synonymous with the nonimputation and remission of sin. In Acts xiii, 38, 39, Paul identifies justification with the pardon of sin. There is no passage in the New Testament in which δικαιόω departs from the objective forensic sense.

The evangelical use of the term is based on the forensic. The strictly forensic sense of the term is certainly to be qualified, else there were no pardon. The forensic use of itself knows nothing of pardon, knows only guilt or innocence. Hence arise both the Roman and the Calvinistic extremes of the doctrine, both demanding that the justification involve

the recognition of real righteousness, either through the infusion of divine grace or through the imputation of the active righteousness of Christ. But neither position is tenable exegetically, for justification is synonymous with the *pardon* of sins, as we have just seen; and all such views ignore the fatherhood of God. The evangelical use of δικαιόω is, then, although based on the forensic, peculiar in that it adds the supreme conception of the *grace* of God. The Judge is at the same time the Father. Mercy tempers justice. The great atonement, provided by the love of God, lays the foundation for the gracious pardon. We are "justified freely (δωρεὰν) by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus" (Rom. iii, 24). Here is the Gospel of grace. Here is salvation by free gift. Here is the justification of the unjust. Here is the pardon of sin. Throughout the New Testament the conception of δικαιόω is and abides objective and essentially forensic. Justification is not, as Schleiermacher, for instance, held, merely God's removal of our consciousness of guilt through our subjective union with Christ and the consequent victory over sin. In Rom. iii, 23, it is not our own approval but the divine approval (δόξης) that we lack through sin. The demand which justification meets is not primarily that of our conscience, but of the law and nature of God. That demand is met by redemption through propitiation. And the gracious result is the free remission of sin and the acceptance of the believer as righteous (Rom. iii, 21-26).

So much in brief for δικαιόω. Now, as for δικαιοσύνη (justification or righteousness), in the passages which describe the way of salvation, the way to peace with God, the word indicates *the result of the gracious act of* δικαίωσις, justification, in the objective sense of pardon. It is the right relation to God into which the divine act of justification (δικαίωσις) introduces the sinner, on condition of faith in Jesus Christ, on the basis of the expiatory work of Christ. In Rom. iv, 4, 5, Paul declares "To him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is reckoned for righteousness."

It is somewhat startling to put over against so clear and emphatic a statement of objective justification Dr. McGiffert's dictum that Paul could not have believed that God "in virtue of a merely substitutionary sacrifice of Christ could pronounce a sinful man righteous and grant him life" (p. 130). Compare Rom. x, 3, 4; 2 Cor. v, 21. In the latter passage we have an unmistakably objective conception. "Him who knew no sin he made to be sin on our behalf; that we might become the righteousness of God in him." Christ was not made subjectively a sinner; and the righteousness of the sinner is, in this parallel, not subjective. Christ suffered as though he were a sinner, in order that we might be accepted of God as though we were personally righteous. The idea is evidently not that of subjective renewal but that of objective pardon. To misunderstand this conception is to misunderstand Paulinism at its center and to cut the nerve of Pauline theology. For with Paul there is tremendous emphasis on the thought of the *free gift* in pardon. That is to say, the verdict of pardon is not what the sinner deserved, but is the result of divine grace (Rom. iii, 24; iv, 4, 5). God "justifies the ungodly."

The ground of justification, in Paul's teaching, cannot then be *sanctification*, the new life. Justification is not a process of salvation wherein grace is infused into us, making us inherently righteous and *so* acceptable to God. We are not justified in proportion to our sanctification. In Rom. iv, 4, 5, Paul negatives any such view, for he declares that the act of justification takes place upon the man who is so far from having inherent righteousness, goodness, or merit that he boldly calls him even "ungodly," supposing the extremist case. Was it on the basis of his own righteousness, even graciously infused, his subjective union with Christ, that Paul found peace with God? Nay, verily. But when Paul despaired of the attainment of personal righteousness and simply trusted God's free grace in Christ, then sin was pardoned, the witness of the Spirit came, and he had peace with God, "being justified by faith." Any confusion of justifica-

tion with holiness is inconsistent with many passages in Paul's writings, and with that clear and joyous assurance of acceptance with God which is so prominent an article in Paul's creed. How can I be sure of my present acceptance with God if that acceptance is conditioned upon my holiness, knowing, as I do, how imperfect that holiness is? Neither is it Pauline to find the ground of justification in faith as the root of the new life in Christ Jesus. Schleiermacher, Ritschl, and many of our own time represent God as justifying the sinner in view of the holiness foreseen as the fruit of his faith. It is essentially the same view to speak of Christ apprehended by faith and dwelling in the heart as the ground of justification. Christ *in us* is certainly the source and principle of our subjective Christian life (Rom. vi). But Christ *for us* is the ground of our justification. In Rom. iii, 23, 24, we see clearly that redemption through propitiation, involving the shedding of the blood of the Redeemer, is the objective and gracious ground of justification. Such views as the above are not Pauline. They lessen the Pauline emphasis on the principle of free grace in justification; they confuse justification and the new life; they lead us back into a modification of that very legalism from which it was Paul's mission to free the Church, and they are not based in a thoroughly scientific exegesis. In Romans Paul does not treat of faith and union with Christ as the root principle of the subjective Christian life (chap. vi) until he has completed his treatment of justification. And throughout he represents the ground of our acceptance with God, that is, our justification, as something outside of ourselves, namely, Jesus Christ and his atoning death (Acts xiii, 39; Rom. iii, 24; v, 9; 2 Cor. v, 21).

The relation of *faith* to justification is not that of ground, but *condition*—faith as receptive of divine grace in Christ. In Rom. i, 17, Paul teaches us that righteousness is conditioned on (ἐκ) faith, and that the revelation of this gracious fact is made in order to produce faith (εἰς) in those who hear this divine evangel. Compare Rom. iv, 11; v, 1. In Phil. iii, 9, the expressions are very clear: "Not having a righteous-

ness of mine own, even that which is of the law (conditioned on the fulfillment of the law, ἐκ), but that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith (upon condition of faith, ἐπί)." Paul, indeed, goes so far as to say that faith is reckoned by God for righteousness (Rom. iv, 5), meaning evidently that on condition of faith a sinner is accepted of God as if personally righteous, not because faith is meritorious, but because it is receptive of Jesus Christ and the merit of his great sacrifice. The expression is one which deliberately magnifies the grace of God, for faith is the very antithesis of work or merit (Rom. iii, 27; Eph. ii, 8, 9). These are but sample passages out of a multitude which teach that faith is not one work in contrast to the many works of the law, but the antithesis of all human effort by works of ritual or moral law to merit God's favor and so work out righteousness for one's self. Faith gives up the hopeless task and trusts the grace of God in Christ (Rom. iv, 4, 5, "worketh not"). In Paul faith is self-renunciation and self-commitment to Jesus Christ for salvation. The essence of faith (πίστις) is *trust;* specifically, a trust which goes out to (εἰς), rests upon (ἐπί), and lives and moves and has its being in (ἐν) Jesus Christ, in view of the salvation provided in him.

From this point of view we may humbly venture to answer, tentatively at least, the question *why faith is the appointed condition of salvation.* The appointment is not arbitrary. While faith does not merit salvation, yet faith is the one right thing in the case. Faith is essentially receptivity, trust, reliance, and this is the only proper attitude of the sinner toward God and his grace revealed in Jesus Christ—a sense of need, penitence for sin, readiness to receive the free gift of pardon, trust in the mercy of God.

We may conclude from even the few lines of thought which we have followed, and the few sample passages which we have considered, that the fundamental thought in Paul's whole doctrine of justification is that of the divine love, in the aspect of unmerited favor to the guilty, pardoning the sinner and bringing him into right relation to God solely in view of

the propitiation in Jesus Christ. And this truth Paul constantly places in the sharpest antithesis to the legal conception that man is accepted in virtue of anything which he is or does. He nowhere represents justification as in any sense a subjective state, the gracious reception of qualities or character which God then recognizes as righteous. For, as Paul argues in Rom. xi, 6, "If it is by grace, it is no more of works: otherwise grace is no more grace."

Justification is objective, forensic, a judicial sentence pardoning the sinner and accepting him as righteous. But this form of representation sounds too cold to exhaust the glorious warmth of divine grace. Paul represents God not only as the Judge, but as the Father. Hence his doctrine of adoption. Adoption (*υἱοθεσία*) is, as righteousness or justification, a judicial term, signifying the legal adoption of a child into a family. It denotes a change in objective relation, not in subjective character. Adoption, then, is not really another blessing coordinate with justification, but is a more tender way of stating the essential principle of justification—the free grace of God in receiving guilty man into a true relation to himself. Childhood, in the theology of John, is not synonymous with sonship in the theology of Paul. The former is subjective, through regeneration; the latter objective, through adoption.

But now, if justification and adoption are objective, an actual remission of penalty on God's part and reception of the sinner into a blessed relation of acceptance with God, how am I to know that I am thus pardoned and accepted? Here enters Paul's doctrine of assurance. Paul by no means identifies or confuses assurance with justification or adoption, but rather teaches a divinely imparted subjective assurance of the objective fact of justification and adoption. As adoption is but another representation of the same transaction as justification, the witness of the Spirit to adoption is practically a witness to justification. The result is a glad and peaceful assurance of being right with God, and a hopeful confidence in the final inheritance which sonship implies (Gal. iv, 6, 7; Rom. viii, 15, 16; Eph. i, 13, 14).

The practical value of this great, though too often obscured, truth of the objectivity of the conception of justification and adoption must be reiterated. Any theory of salvation which in any degree mixes a subjective element with the objective conception of free grace pardoning sin and accepting the sinner for Christ's sake alone, tends to dim the glory of the present assurance of pardon and adoption. A direct witness of the Spirit to that which is subjective to me is unnecessary and will not be looked for. If justification is in any sense subjective I must look only for the indirect witness in my own feelings, dispositions, character, conduct; and, as these are at the best defective, I must forever doubt and hesitate. But in Paul's theology my ground of acceptance is in the perfect atoning work of my Saviour, justification is an actual forgiveness of sins on the part of God, the witness of the Spirit is a blessed experience, and I have a settled peace with God (Rom. iii, 28; v, 1).

Paul's Doctrine of the New Life.

So far for Paul's teaching as to the objective aspect of salvation. But there is another side. Ethical interests would go by the board and Christ would be the minister of sin, if salvation meant only forgiveness and did not imply a new life. The ultimate test of every religion is ethical. Does it promote the highest life of the individual and of the community? Christianity has this power. Paul has this teaching. In Paulinism there is no divorce of religion and morality, but a most definite conception of a real, subjective change, a real renewal in thought, feeling, will, a real personal life and character, in which a real, though imperfect, personal righteousness is developed. Paul abhors antinomianism and repudiates it as an illegitimate conclusion from his doctrine of free grace (Rom. vi, 1). But how does he meet this dangerous perversion of the truth of justification by faith? By the doctrine of a *new life* with its own new tendencies, instincts, and ends, turned away from sin to God. "We who died to sin, how shall we any longer live therein?" (Rom. vi, 2.)

And throughout this passage Paul proceeds to depict this new life as a life of such vital fellowship with Christ that he copies in his subjective experience the death of Christ to sin and the resurrection of Christ into a life apart from sin. This same thought is expressed in Gal. ii, 20; Col. ii, 20-iii, 4. The very characteristic of this new life is sanctification (*ἁγιασμός*), in the proper sense of separation from sin and consecration to God (2 Thess. ii, 13; 1 Cor. i, 2).

Now, *how is this new life originated,* according to Paul's teaching?

An attractive view here is that which sees the new life originating in faith, or in justification by faith, developed psychologically, through the sense of gratitude for the love of God manifested in forgiveness. There is, doubtless, a place for this conception in our theology. In the development of the subjective Christian life in righteousness and love the Holy Spirit certainly makes large use of such motives. But Paul does not regard the production of the new life as so accomplished, but rather as accomplished by a definite act of grace, conditioned, indeed, as is justification, on faith. It is true that Ritschl uses Rom. i, 17 ("the just shall live by faith," *ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται*) in proof of this view. But there is nothing whatever in the context to indicate that the statement refers to faith as the root principle of the subjective Christian life. The connection leads us rather to understand it of acquittal in the final judgment and the consequent life of glory. If Paul thought of the new life as the fruit of faith or of justification by faith Rom. vi would be in closer connection with Rom. v. But, as it is, in Rom. vi Paul seems quite conscious that he is entering upon a new subject; and in that chapter he connects the new subjective life not with faith or justification, directly, but with fellowship with Christ. And in Gal. v, 22, the virtues of the Christian life are the fruit not of faith but of the Spirit. Faith is, indeed, the appropriate condition of this fellowship with Christ, and so of this new life, for it is the outgoing of the whole heart to Jesus Christ in trustful self-abandonment to him. Paul, however,

prefers to emphasize the direct divine operation in the production of the new life. The idea of regeneration is not in Paul, as in John, the characteristic representation of the great renewal. This form of representation occurs in Titus iii, 5-7. But the characteristic representation in Paul is that of the new man or the new creation (*καινὸς ἄνθρωπος, καινὴ κτίσις*). In Eph. iv, 22-24, the reference to God as Creator seems to imply that the great renewal is but the restoration of the divine image marred through sin, the restoration of the original subjective harmony between man and God. The following passages contain similar representations: Eph. ii, 10; Gal. vi, 15; 2 Cor. v, 17. And that Paul regards the Holy Spirit as the agent in this renewal is evident in such passages as Titus iii, 5; Rom. vii, 6; Gal. v, 25. The Holy Spirit is, in Paul's teaching, the moving force in the Christian life. To say nothing of prevenient grace, it is he who enters the heart, opened by faith, and touches the inner springs of action, sweetens the hidden fountains, turns the flowing currents of the soul to God. It is he who thus renews, regenerates, re-creates. It is he who develops the Christian character in the blessed union of the believer with Christ. Richly suggestive is the passage Rom. viii, 9, 10. Here to "have the Spirit of Christ" and to have "Christ in you" are synonymous. Why? Because the indwelling Spirit mediates the indwelling of Christ, taking of the things of Christ and showing them unto us. The indwelling of the Spirit and the indwelling of Christ are indistinguishable to consciousness, for, as Bruce finely puts it, "the Spirit is the *alter ego* of the Lord."

The Relation of Justification and the New Life.

We are now prepared to understand the true relation in thought of justification and the new life, the objective and the subjective sides of salvation.

Man is not justified in proportion as he is subjectively renewed. To so teach is to keep the poor sinner, conscious of guilt, ever hesitating, dependent either on his own moods or

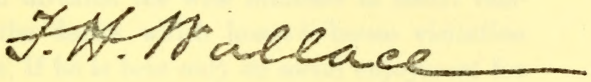
on the sacraments of the Church, lacking the peace and assurance of typical New Testament experience. Nor is the new life, however intimately it is conditioned upon faith, merely the psychological development of faith. It is a diviner thing than that. Rather is justification an actual forgiveness of sins, an objective act of God's free grace, on the ground of the merits of Christ, on condition of a self-abandoning trust which goes out toward and rests down upon the personal Saviour for pardon. Of the new saved relation to God witness is borne to our consciousness directly by the Spirit of God, indirectly by our own spirit. And the new subjective life of consecration of love to God and man, of holy service, is produced by the direct action of the Holy Spirit, creating the man anew in Christ Jesus, and is then developed by the same divine agent, teaching, guiding, quickening him continually in the fellowship of Jesus—all on condition of faith, which opens the heart to the Holy Spirit. Faith in Jesus Christ, a personal trust in the personal Saviour, is thus the link that unites the objective and the subjective, for it is at once the condition of the new attitude of God to the man in justification and of the new attitude of the man to God in the subjective life of fellowship with God in Christ. Upon the same faith that secures justification, the new life is produced by the Holy Spirit, in the blessed mystic union of the believer with the living Christ. It is impossible that the Spirit should fill the soul with the life of God while the sinner stands trembling before God. But when the penitent realizes forgiveness and adoption through the witness of the Spirit, then the Spirit fills him with the divine life and love by uniting him to the personal Saviour Jesus Christ in all the receptivities of his being. In point of time justification and renewal are contemporaneous. Paul knows no Christians who are not saints—not even the sadly imperfect church at Corinth. However undeveloped the new subjective life, it at least begins at justification. The close relation of the objective and the subjective is to be seen in Rom. viii, 1, 2. Here the freedom of the believer from condemnation is most

significantly connected with the new freedom from the dominion of sin and death. The faith on which pardon is conditioned is at the same time the condition of the new life of freedom (at least in principle) from sin. From the realization of this new life, with its happy deliverance from the old bondage, Paul reasons back to the right relation to Christ, in faith, in which there is no condemnation. The freedom is proof of the pardon. Hence he who has that freedom loses the sense of condemnation. The argument recalls Wesley's doctrine of the indirect witness of adoption. This much is evident from the passage, that no man dare continue cherishing hope of salvation through a divine act of grace, objective to him, who knows nothing of a divine work of grace, subjective to him. This Pauline conception of the relation of justification and the new life makes Jesus Christ, the personal, divine Saviour, central to our whole religious experience, for it is trust in him that brings to us both objective and subjective salvation (1 Cor. i, 30).

All this is familiar to the Christian heart as light to the eyes, as air to the lungs. Amid all minor changes in our theology, wrought by more scientific modern methods of criticism and exegesis, the great truths which are fundamental to the Christian system vindicate themselves afresh under the most candid and careful investigation. No one ever described more clearly than Mr. Wesley the nature of justification, and the distinction between it and sanctification, using that term as embracing the beginning and the development of the new life. "The one implies," to quote his well-known words, "what God does for us through his Son; the other, what he works in us by his Spirit. . . . The plain scriptural notion of justification is pardon, the forgiveness of sin."

I, for one, know no reason to abandon those statements. They are true to Paulinism and to Christian experience. I gladly admit that personal or subjective righteousness, of which the essence is love, is the highest thing in religion, "the greatest thing in the world." But it certainly is not Pauline, in order to exalt or glorify this subjective aspect of salvation,

to ignore the objective aspect. Love is the goal; but faith starts men on the way to love. Justification by faith is the glad message which brings peace to the guilty sinner. To confuse objective and subjective, justification and the new life, is to perplex the anxious inquirer after the way to the celestial city. He needs pardon first of all, and he gets that at the cross. Then comes the blessed witness of the Spirit, the new creation by the Spirit and the new life in the Spirit, a life of holy union with Jesus, developed here and now by the Holy Spirit through the truth of God and the discipline of providence, perfected at last in the consummation, where all believers become fully conformed to the image of God's Son, and objective and subjective are blended into one for evermore.



Art. III.—PASTORAL VISITING AND PULPIT STRENGTH.

The Methodist ministry must magnify the pastoral office. Indeed, it is a question if the decadence of power so much remarked upon in recent years may not be attributed, in some part, to the lack of attention to the exercise of consecrated talents in the field of pastoral endeavor. There is danger of widespread delusion in the loud talk of the advocate of the so-called strong pulpit. It is assumed gratuitously that a strong pastor necessarily means a weak preacher. Other things are assumed, too, which ought never to have a place in the thought of a pure man. No embarrassment need be felt and no danger can threaten the wise minister in social relations because of the duties which house-to-house visitation entails. Of course, if he is bent only on social enjoyment for himself, and agreeable passing of heavy hours for his parishioners, he will soon discover that his reputation needs a guard. But if he is consecrated to the construction of a strong religious life in the community he will find the door of opportunity widest open at the threshold of the family circle.

If efficiency in the pastorate means insipid preaching in the pulpit it is yet to be supported by competent evidence. It will not do to say that the minister who calls often and on every family will become effeminate by reason of his failure to associate constantly with the manhood of his people, and that, furthermore, young men will be out of the range of the influence of the minister whom they see painfully struggling from doorstep to doorstep. Ridiculous as such inane sophistry is, there are many who present it for consideration as argument. At the Methodist Congress in St. Louis, a few years since, a sonorous doctor of divinity made an address which more than hinted such ideas. Whether it is uttered from platform or not it has taken hold of the young ministry to an alarming extent, and in deference to it many are confining themselves to the development of what they are pleased

to call "the art of virile preaching." The interesting question suggested by this condition centers in two points: First, what is pastoral visiting? Second, what is virile pulpit work?

Pastoral visiting is not what a great many strive to palm off in its stead. It is not making so many calls at stated intervals. It is not faithful remembrance of every family, representing rich and poor. It is not observing the form of Bible reading and prayer in every home. It is not affably winning the hearts of the family to him as a representative of the religious idea. Important and helpful as doing all this may be, and essential as it is, whether it is pastoral visiting or not depends on the purpose which actuates him who does it. That purpose must originate in the conviction that the all-important factor in character building is the religious idea. Wherever it is possible to place that idea in control of lives there is an opportunity which the wise pastor will be sure to improve. The history of the world is proof of the fact that the home is the real center of religious influence. If Christianity shall perpetuate itself its teachers must observe this evident fact. The mature and the innocent are alike open to our influence in the home. It is the one place where the sordid self-life of earth loses its grip and where the finer sentiments stir the holiest passions of the human soul. It is the place where the true minister of Christ may discover the real life of those whom God has appointed him to serve. The purpose impelling him to occupy this field is given power in the life of the prayerful preacher. From the secret place he may go to many a duty, strong and conquering, but to any work he may have to do he can go without prayer more safely than to this holy labor of impressing religion upon the family. He need not go with the stiffness of a false dignity, nor need he make his errand futile in a tactless offensiveness. But he must needs possess within his own soul the consciousness of divine favor, and feel the impulse of the Christ passion. To such a pastor the homes of humble poor and fortunate rich afford a most promising field, for he looks back of all environment and sees the immortal soul to which he is sent if there

is any meaning in the Gospel which he essays to preach. To him the ministry means more than an opportunity to mingle with refined people. He is commissioned to mold soul life, and pastoral visitation is only a means to that glorious end. In some quarters what is reported as pastoral visitation is certainly a source of effeminacy. There are places where it means a simpering greeting at the front entrance, a season of small talk in the parlor, a series of "O my!" "Is it possible?" "What can such people be thinking of?" "Were you at the opera last night?" "Wasn't Mrs. B. charmingly dressed at Mrs. R.'s reception?" "Church functions are so dull, don't you know?" "Good-bye; so glad you came." This, of course, is in the homes of the society people. In the occasional visit to the abode of poverty a patronizing sentence of sympathy and an assurance that the Lord will make up in heaven what he has seemingly denied the poor here are often the utmost of pastoral endeavor. John Wesley would have found an easy but sure way to relieve the Church of such a worker.

Pastoral visitation is the opportunity for the minister to learn the needs of his people and likewise to leave the ineffaceable influence of a holy life and soul passion. "O, you cannot do that in the homes of the rich," cries some one. And why not? The fact is, we have two neglected classes: the very rich and the very poor; and the rich are the more neglected. It is assumed that their wealth can buy all they need, but their soul need is the same as that which all humanity feels, and which no money can purchase. Wise tact will adjust the pastor's approach to his people, whatever their station; but the ultimate end of his mingling with his people will be the development of their spiritual life. So far from weakening his influence, this will strengthen it. It will stamp itself upon the home, and the youth will remember it in all years to come. It is the "society pastor" whose visitations are tiresome events to the young life of the parish, for the normal girl and boy know there is no reality in the hollow forms of the social pastorate. Indeed, there is no more excuse for that type of pastorate than there is a demand for that sort of

grocer, butcher, dry goods or millinery merchant. It is a business, not a social, door which opens to them. The homes are open to us solely to offer opportunity to wield an influence for righteousness, and to devote the hours put in at such work to mere social fellowship is to prostitute its opportunities to self-pleasure, and to open the door to a thousand dangers.

If I have succeeded in hinting at the meaning of pastoral visitation it will be profitable to inquire as to what is involved in "virile preaching," and to note the relation which real pastoral work sustains to it. In a word, it appears to me we may say "virile preaching" is that which attracts a large hearing and helps those whose attention it commands. To some this is sensational preaching. Far too many are ready to cry out in respect to the successful preacher, "Sensational! Sensational!" True, crowds may indicate sensationalism, but helpfulness is not a characteristic of that type of preaching. Attractive and helpful preaching cannot fail to grip the strongest thought of the community. It is the essential to permanence in the power of the Protestant Church. Where ritualistic forms prevail, and, as a consequence, a superstitious reverence for, and reliance upon, the Church as an organization takes the place of intelligent devotion, there is no demand for strong sermons. It will not do, however, to say, "Give the people the Gospel. If they do not come to hear it the responsibility is with them." The Gospel is the most popular theme in the field of human thought. It assumes to satisfy a universal human need; and if the condition to which it addresses itself really exists, and it is the full answer it professes to be, it need not beg for a hearing. Hence a mere knowledge of the general scope of the Gospel may lead to sermon efforts which present in stereotyped phrase the truths we have not preached until we have declared them in forms which demonstrate their fitness to every condition of life. In this view how broad is the scope of pulpit work! It is no longer the forum of debate on abstract questions concerning God, man, sin, redemption, character, virtue, and morality. It becomes rather the rostrum from which is pre-

sented the meaning of all these abstractions in relation to every variation of human experience. If the preacher fills this mission the virility of his service none will question. His message will mean something to the laborer without throwing dust clouds of anarchy and scattering seeds of silly sophistry as to sociology. It will mean something to the capitalist without encouraging the selfish assurance that complacently assumes a superiority over labor and indulges cruel indifference to the life of the toiler. It will mean something to the sorrowing, the tempted, the dismayed, the lonely, the defeated, the wretched, the hopeless, without being either maudlin or unfeeling.

Now, this sort of strong preaching depends upon faithful and intelligent pastoral labor. The reason so much preaching is insipid to the people is this: it is along lines of thought utterly strange and without interest to the people. It does not apply the revelation contained in God's word to the life of men. What is said means nothing to them. The labored attempts to explain passages of Scripture on which the best scholarship differs are sedatives their nerves cannot resist, and they prefer to sleep at home. Certain gifted men may get crowds by reason of native and acquired eloquence, thrilling and impassioned appeal, and varied theme of discourse or story of travel; but the current of religious life receives no impulse of added strength. Soon the most eloquent sermons and the most wonderful word pictures become vapid, and the hungry soul starves because it discerns nothing in the Gospel as it is preached suited to the everyday need.

Real pastoral visitation is the only means to acquaint a pastor with the needs of his people. In the homes of the people his watchful eye will see openings to the secrets of his people's life. He will see what is troubling, or what is likely to trouble, the life of the schoolgirl; he will see the difficulties which threaten the schoolboy; he will note the worries of a watchful mother; he will discern the perplexities of the husband; he will divine the lonely anxiety of the widow seeking to provide a living and a life for her children; he will observe

the dangers of temptation's assault; he will see a hundred conditions, and in prayer and meditation the old Gospel will appear to him as he becomes "all things to all men," by putting himself in other people's places, "the power of God unto salvation." He may not preach much about the stars; he may not dilate on the old philosophies; he may not refer to original Greek and Hebrew roots; he may not refer to strikes and lockouts; he may not quote poetry; he may not indulge a wealth of rhetoric; he may not be profound; he may not appeal to science; but in any and every case he will have said something which, intuitively, he has intended for some troubled soul, and which that soul will receive as the thirsty accepts the cooling draught. The fact is, "virile preaching" is God's truth declared in forms which will attract. The true pastor sees the common, everyday life of all the people in his visitation in home, shop, store, bank, office, schoolroom, field, and street. This knowledge will inevitably color his sermons, and a delighted people will say, "O how that sermon helped us!" or, "Our preacher makes clear the very things I have been studying," or "My pastor seems to preach to my heart experience."

A strong pastor will be the strongest preacher he is capable of being. Pastoral work will not cure the stammering tongue, it will not make brilliant the indifferent mind. But it will make the gifted and the commonplace man alike the most efficient each can be. It will make the eloquent more meaningful, and the commonplace less dull. It will write a plus mark after every preacher's character, and add to him the supreme object of true ambition—efficiency. The strong pastor will be the strongest preacher it is possible for him to be, and the strong preacher may easily excel in the pastoral work, upon which he may levy for the most meaningful of all his messages to men.

Frank Eddy.

Art. IV.—JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL AS VIEWED FROM OUR GENERATION.

There must always be some perplexity in trying to estimate James Russell Lowell. A judgment of his full importance is not easy; yet it would be obviously unjust to consider Lowell as one might consider Browning the poet, or Burke the orator, or Bentley the scholar. That were unfair to Lowell, the man of abounding and multiplied talents who might have vied with any of them had not patriotism and the exigencies of his time called him, as far as one richly gifted personality can be, to be "all things to all men." Not only does any one view fail to give a full measure of the man, it lacks sufficiency to itself. We cannot understand Hosea Biglow until acquainted with the writer of vigorous and very earnest articles in the *North American Review* or the *Atlantic*. We do not know the real spirit of Lowell the satirist or critic unless we have seen Lowell the scholar as Leslie Stephen did in his study at Elmwood, have heard of his ideals for the culture of a nation, and have discovered, withal, how "racy of the soil" he is. Lowell the cosmopolitan and Lowell the patriot are complements of each other, and we do not understand either until we have read the Address on Democracy. All these parts, so widely different outwardly, are parts of a perfect whole: the broad yet intense American, whose foundation purpose was the development of what he thought best in national life and whose keyword was Freedom.

In point of time Lowell was, for our purpose, first of all a poet. For inherent quality his early productions might be dismissed as shortly as those of some greater poets. He did not start with as much dullness as Wordsworth indeed, but neither had he more power of song than many another "class poet." Edward Everett Hale declares that "the year Lowell graduated we were as sure as we are now that in him was first-rate poetical genius." Perhaps; though may it not be that Dr. Hale is projecting certainty backward? I say per-

haps his declaration is true; for what class has not confidence in its laureate? But, whatever may have been argued from personal acquaintance, most of us could no more prophesy the "Fable for Critics" or the "Commemoration Ode" from "Threnodia" than we could prophesy "Tintern Abbey" or the "Ode to Duty" from the "Lines on a Ruined Cottage." Coleridge saw genius in these latter, but Coleridge was himself a genius. If, however, we make little of the earlier poems as self-commending pieces of literature they may not be uninteresting for a backward look. With our knowledge of Lowell's later work, what can we identify in these pieces that was characteristic of his more important accomplishment? Not at first the reform spirit, nor in any wise the intense personal earnestness, it will be agreed. The subjects are proper for academic exercises, the tone somewhat moralizing; themes are treated with the excessiveness of a young writer who wishes to make the most of them. Yet the work shows taste and here and there poetic quality. "Threnodia," which escapes the sin of moralizing, has unquestioned beauty in places; and the stanzas "To Perdita Singing" have some genuinely lyric lines. In these youthful writings there is one quality that distinguishes Lowell in all his work; as he afterward said of the "Invita Minerva," they "have a meaning." There is a disposition to stand upon the ground and face the things of a real world. Lowell may sometimes wander into fantastic realms, as becomes academic poetry, but the point of departure is upon solid earth, and to solid earth he always returns, bringing whatever great or little treasure he has been able to make his own. There will always be some to whom this also will seem proper in a healthy poet; some to whom a Browning will always be more satisfying, though not more fascinating, than a Shelley. Lowell will always satisfy us more than his contemporary Edgar Allan Poe. The dreams we dream must have vital relation to the life we live.

If one were asked to name the particular piece which may be thought to mark Lowell's confirmation in the poetic calling, one would probably name the "Legend of Brittany;" not

because it is more in his peculiar spirit than some others, like "The Heritage," but because it shows more mastery of form and because it contains higher poetry than he has touched before. Lowell's tendency to moralize remains, but in one case at least he has turned it to great account. Pausing at the end of "Part First" in his poem to lament for one moment the many fair souls who had better "achieved their immortality in youth," he makes a transition that would do credit to Ariosto. So, through the whole, there are touches of rare beauty. Parts have the real spirit of a mediæval *chanson.* While the poem ends without strong finality, yet the central idea must be recognized as a noble conception and, upon the whole, worthily expressed. Margaret is a fair vision of innocence, and the power of youthful innocence as embodied in her reminds us of things in high circles of our literary *Paradiso:*

> None looked upon her but he straightway thought
> Of all the greenest depths of country cheer,
> And into each one's heart was freshly brought
> What was to him the sweetest time of year.

It was innocence alone that made her approachable by the wrongdoer. The absence of all foreboding was her danger:

> Her summer nature felt a need to bless,
> And a like longing to be blest again;
> So from her skylike nature gentleness
> Dropped ever like a sunlit fall of rain.

In this poem the qualities and limitations of the author are defining themselves. The faultiness in metrical and musical effects discerned here Lowell never outgrew. Inability to rest content with artistic methods is another weakness common to the "Legend" and later poems. It was never enough to "hold the mirror up to nature." Lowell never learned to trust us so far, or perhaps to trust himself so far. He must preach what he means at us. He must stretch forth an eager correcting hand. His "attitude" and his philosophy are becoming settled. He is to be no mere poet of hammock-swinging rhapsodies in summer. He is the champion of what seems good to him, and will have a challenge ready for any who

shall do it harm. He is the vigorous defender of all who have been hardly treated. Of Art he says:

> Her fittest triumph is to show that good
> Lurks in the heart of evil evermore.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> God does not work as man works, but makes all
> The crooked paths of ill to goodness tend.

Thus he puts himself beside another writer who declared that "all evil is good in the making"—"the scheme by which, through ignorance, good labors to exist." It was his faith in the triumph of good, and in the presence of good with all men, that was to make the manly passionate appealingness of the last stanza in the "Elm-tree Ode," which no worthy American of North or South can read without being stirred from the depths. It was this broad faith that made the acceptableness of the Address on Democracy, delivered as it was in the world's greatest monarchy by the official representative of a republic. "He knew that honor, truth, and justice are not provincialisms." His was always the healthy optimistic philosophy, though he could be a fierce partisan against error and his sight was dazzled by no glamour of false optimism.

It was long before anything else of Lowell's showed so good quality, in equal quantity, as the "Legend." The "Shepherd of King Admetus" is worth mentioning. To read these lines,

> They knew not how he learned at all,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> It seemed the loveliness of things
> Did teach him all their use,

is to be reminded of another poet by whom the appended moral is more tunefully expressed:

> Book! 'tis a dull and endless strife;
> Come hear the woodland linnet.

Several of the early poems thus recall Wordsworth, indeed. The "Indian Summer Reverie" bursts into unforgettable beauty in at least one spot—the springlike rapture about "that devil-may-care the bobolink." A writer who can give us gems like this has proved his right to double sibilants wherever he pleases. We must snatch at a charming bit also from that good poem "The Dandelion:"

> Thou art my tropics and mine Italy;
> To look at thee unlocks a warmer clime.

While we read we forget that it is the dandelion of which Lowell is speaking; and when we remember again—woe is us for our depravity!—he has lost half his appeal. The first dandelion to pop open in early spring gives us a homely pleasure, but we cannot easily learn to think so fine things of it. Wordsworth himself could scarce equal Lowell in appreciating such thoughts as lie in "the meanest flower that blows."

Since the "Legend of Brittany" we have been making baffled haste toward the "Vision of Sir Launfal." It is a new Grail-legend, really not a legend at all but an invention of the author. It need not be quoted at length, for reader and writer will each assume that the other has known it from childhood. What American has written nature-poetry equal to the first prelude? It may be, as Mr. Stedman says, that Lowell himself has surpassed it in the "June" of "Under the Willows." Probably no one, anywhere, has better put the thought and sentiment of the passage that ends,

> 'Tis heaven alone that is given away,
> 'Tis only God can be had for the asking.

That idea, and that sentiment, Lowell has put his stamp upon as ultimate and made it peculiarly his; a conviction, by the way, one would declare of but little from the pen of James Russell Lowell. Here its eagerness did not lead to haste. In setting, in motive and sentiments, in supernaturalism, in presentation of the moral, and in its very movement, this poem is like a new tale of Saint Alexis or some of the other mediæval "Vies des Saints." The "legend"—that is to say, the plot—is of course descended from another origin, the Arthurian cycle. In its freedom from modernness the piece is superior to Tennyson's. As a poem it obviously does not afford good ground for comparison, precisely because it has kept so much of the *naïveté* that is proper to it, while Tennyson treated his material as he chose and took greater liberty. Equally of course, a comparison as to verse-form and verbal melody would be in Tennyson's favor. Some even of the

most familiar lines in the "Vision" are memorable rather for their sentiment than for exquisiteness of taste. Obviously "The gift without the giver" is said to be *bare,* not because "bare" is the best word, but because it rhymes. By this time, however, we are somewhat insensible to faults in detail which we despair of Lowell's outgrowing.

This is probably the best point at which to form many judgments. The climax of Lowell's poetry in one sort has been reached, namely, the somewhat conventional poems of culture. "In Twilight" and "The Cathedral" would have been enough, indeed, to make a poet's reputation, and they are later, but they stand apart and they discover no new quality. The works yet to be discussed, political and satirical as they chiefly are, can in the one case plead exemption from laws of literary propriety and in the other case become a law to themselves. Let us proceed, then, with our judgments.

Lowell was not chiefly a poet of love, though he did give us fine thoughts in that vein and was yet to write one delightful love idyl, "The Courtin'." He was not preeminently the poet of nature, though when he chooses he can write the poetry of out of doors in a way to bring us the sniff of breezes and the sweet jargon of many voices and the buoyancy of turf under foot. Least of all is Lowell the poet of sorrow. "The First Snow-fall" is not a poem of heart anguish but of appropriate reflection. Of what then, distinctively, is Lowell the poet? He is the poet of reproof and of aspiration; the standard bearer of all who seek to advance "freedom and the cause of man." Had he died at the period we are speaking of this might have been less clear; but now we can see that from the first he was cast for that rôle. Love, fancy, and his fine appreciation for nature, all served as noble enhancements; but his chief impulse was always a moral impulse. This is equivalent to saying that Lowell was no artist. Any fair critic would say just that. Some one has already said that he had "more of the vision than of the faculty divine," which is saying a part of the same thing. He had none of the artistic

conscientiousness which will not let a thing out of hand until sure that he can make no better personal expression; which passes every phrase, word, and syllable under the most zealous scrutiny. Lowell protested against such criticism and his friends have protested. "I don't believe the man ever lived who put more conscience into his work than I do," he wrote in 1854. But in verses, as in prose, his care was given to the "meaning;" his "conscience" was not artistic, but moral. This he later acknowledged. In a preface he laments his own "overhaste." It was constitutional with him, however; there were always masterpieces in his head, so that any brooding over things once out of it would be folly. If the truth is to be said straight out, Lowell seems to have suffered also from a common misfortune of authors in our journalistic age: his writings were "merchantable" and must be turned off as the market demanded. Nor is he reproachless in taste even as regards the matter of his work. Grotesque and whimsical conceits are admitted out of season, and incongruity seems to have had no pains for him. Yet Lowell remains our greatest American poet. He stands upon other than artistic merits. At the beginning it was said that under different conditions he might have vied with Browning; Lowell could never have rivaled Tennyson. The difference implied between Tennyson and Browning is not a difference in greatness, but in kind. Tennyson was the consummate artist, by nature and by cultivation. Of our three most familiar American poets Longfellow is our Tennyson, Poe is our Coleridge, and Lowell is our Browning. Patriotism does not compel us to say that any one of these was equal to his English mate in the comparison; loyalty and justice prompt us to deny that any of them was a mere diminished repetition of an English poet. But the comparison has seemed suggestive.

The "Biglow Papers" and the "Fable for Critics" appeared about the same time. These gave expression to what was really strongest in Lowell: the controversialist; the critic of literature, of institutions, and of life. It has been said that "his everyday genius was a genius of wit and humor." His

everyday manner, perhaps, but wit and humor were collateral with him—instruments for helping to a seriously desired effect. In the "Biglow Papers" the controversial and satirical side of criticism shows, in the "Fable" chiefly the good-humored though searching quality. One may question the common view of the "Biglow Papers." That they were effective pamphlets is beyond dispute. As literature they are problematic. That they are "more literary than they at first seem" is readily admitted of the prose, but the prose is not here under discussion. The verses, too, have much to say for themselves of a sort. They have a stinging mockery in Hosea's observations on the pompousness of what he might have called "them paradin' fellers." There are strong things about war, as a plain man sees it in the light of religion and good reason. In the "Birdofredom" letters the gilt is well rubbed from the common man's images of war glory. The paper from a presidential candidate is a vigorous spewing out of the mouth of those who are "neither cold nor hot." The sarcasm of "What Mr. Robinson Thinks" is of the *aqua regia* variety, and in some of the laments there is a ring like the voice of one who knows. On all these grounds the papers need no concession from an unable critic at this day; they *hit,* and that is what they were written for. One wishes formally to make the concession, however, lest one's criticism appear to be made in ignorance. As studies in Yankee dialect the papers will remain interesting, and they derive special interest from having been the first. But that is not a literary virtue. The form, as well as the substance, counts in the making of literature. Only one man, perhaps, ever consciously wrote in a *patois* of any language "already subdued to uses of literature" and won a notable place in poetry. Robert Burns is that man, and he has what Lowell lacks, the melody which makes poetry "sing itself." Perhaps even Burns is not an exception; for he wrote in his native speech and was clogged by no consciousness of a prouder dialect viewing him askance. Lowell maintains that he wrote in Yankee as in a native speech, and the contention was proper

to be made but must be taken with allowance. Professor Francis Bowen, perhaps unintentionally, has made the right criticism in speaking of the papers as "imitations of the Yankee dialect." It is all masquerading, and the character is not well kept. When we read of Massachusetts as

> She thet ough' to stand so fearless
> Wile the wracks are round her hurled,
> Holdin' up a beacon peerless
> To the oppressed of all the world,

we are reminded of that story in which a refugee from French nobility hired out as a servant. One day he forgot his rôle for a moment, and the mistress of the house exclaimed, "*Mon Dieu, un subjonctif!*" The *subjonctif* slips out often with Lowell.

If any kind of writing needs dramatic quality it is the dialect character-sketch, and precisely in this Lowell fails. It is almost true, as Henrietta von Knebel said of Schiller, "Only [Lowell] speaks, and not the men themselves." This is not quite true, because Lowell has embodied many expressions that are deliciously characteristic, but these are only embodied in a production which is not Hosea Biglow, or "Birdofredom," but Lowell imperfectly translated into their language. It is Lowell that speaks; and the disguise would have been still more transparent had not Lowell himself been so much the Yankee. So far as the two characters coincide there is no difficulty. But obviously the coincidence cannot be perfect, and points of departure are marked in more essential ways than that of diction. Lacking in dramatic and other artistic qualities, it is doubtful whether these writings will remain popular after the circumstances that begot them have receded somewhat into forgetfulness. "The Courtin'" has more of what is perpetual in it than any of the others. The harmony of characters, incident, and setting, the individual flavor, and the delightful mixture of daintiness, quaint humor, and sentiment are too good to be forgotten. It is in the "Fable," despite its looseness and haste, that Lowell seems at his best. Here is flippant emancipation from all clogs of

rhetoric. Here is free rein given for wit and humor to play what sportive pranks they will, and for impatience to gallop, if all but a gallop be too slow. Here no despised word need fear to be frowned on as an intruder among his betters. The most atrocious puns are a merit. Diction is abolished. Yet there is no professed democracy to be violated, as in the "Biglow Papers." Nothing forbids that the writer shall give us the best, of any sort, that is upon his pen. Lowell's was just the spirit to run happy riot with such liberty, and he does so. It is as much his Paradise as it was of the equally impatient Byron, with whom, however, he has so little else in common.

It was only outwardly that the poem ran so wild. In its matter it is thoughtful. It is more; it shows the almost prophetic instinct of a critic so broad that he can judge his contemporaries without partiality. The picture of "Miranda" is as humiliating a satire on literary conceit as can well be imagined. Lowell's own portrait as done by himself is rare in humor, and, marvelous to say, the characterization is true, as far as it goes. The Longfellow is both well done and generous, the Whittier is just, the Irving only slightly extravagant. One hardly knows whether to admire more the brilliancy or the soundness of the Emerson or the Hawthorne. When Lowell leaves either all has been said; and with most vigorous or delicate appropriateness, as fits the case. None of this criticism is merely particular. Every verdict is part of an eager and sensitive but very deliberate sounding of all that was most vital in American letters. It is not upon Irving, or Emerson, or Hawthorne that the thought finally rests, but upon the fondly imagined nobility of a literary temple of fame that is to be built in the New World. This is the fact whose magic gives to the enumeration of names more dignity and meaning than that of a category. Love of country puts temper into every expression; and every opinion of what has been done is full of passionate hope for what shall be done here toward Art's "fittest triumph." As Dante could embody the lore of centuries in his work and yet put upon it all an-

other stamp than that of knowledge, so our own lesser poet has made criticism to become something other than itself. One would not think it worth while to debate whether the "Fable" is poetry. That depends on one's definition of poetry. But somehow, though by a strange medium, genius has spoken itself out with brilliancy and authority and power; and the sound is not uncertain. Unique as it is, whether by virtue or in spite of its uniqueness, writing like this will live long where thrilling contact with a mind like Lowell's is of worth to other minds. Nor will its strong earnestness be less felt always because that earnestness has been pointed by the keenest humor with which an American writer ever served himself. In that temple of American literature which is to be the "Fable for Critics" will have its own place.

Of such poetry as cannot be ignored there remain the odes. None of them deserves to be passed, but some must be. Of the "Elm-tree Ode" I have already spoken. The "Commemoration Ode" is as inseparable from its occasion, derives as much certainty of remembrance from its occasion, and has as little need to rest upon such help as Webster's Bunker Hill orations. It was the greatest expression of our national grief; the most beautiful tribute to the sacred memories not only of Harvard's sons but of all our honored dead, and the noblest utterance of the hope upon which our national life was to be resumed. The dignified movement and sonorous cadences, the seemingly unthought suiting of form to feeling in a considerable variety, the high solemnity and the deep emotion which stirs in this poem, lead one to apply an epithet belonging to no other piece of American poetry—that of grandeur. To quote from it is to do it injustice; it stands together as a unit. That Americans can ever forget to read this ode is to be expected only when we have forgotten to cherish the most sacred of our memories as a people. That Anglo-Saxons anywhere can refuse it a place among the sublimest utterances of a nation's proud grief over a nation's dead is beyond expectation. It is this poem that we like best to have in contem-

plation as we take leave, in his capacity of poet, of the greatest poet our country has to be proud of.

Comparatively little space is left for the discussion of Lowell's prose. It will require less, not because it is insignificant but because it is only another expression of the genius we have been studying. In prose, as in verse, Lowell was the critic preeminently. As a scholar he was eager for the fame and advancement of every man in the nation, whosoever, that could see visions and dream dreams, or that had in any wise the gift of song. Personal antipathies were of no consequence. As a believer in the abstract doctrine of freedom he belonged, heart and soul, to whatever would advance the freedom of every American. His consciousness of a distinctively American national life was intense, and he greatly desired the best things for that life in every department. But his own personal and peculiar contribution toward this attainment was the contribution of a critic—a critic of institutions, of literature, and of life. His was a criticism of correction and also of inspiration. The "American idea" never divorced him from the world's aristocracy of best minds and spirits. It never led him to think that either American culture or American institutions could spring out of the soil. He knew that the ideal of liberty, as held here, had begun in an older nation its "broadening down from precedent to precedent," and that the conception of a government "of the people, for the people, and by the people" did not originate by any magical process in the New World. It follows that in literature he would not have thought to reverse or ignore world-old principles, or to be less the child of Homer and Dante and Shakespeare than were his contemporaries in other lands. Nevertheless, he did profoundly believe that the common heritage of modern times must here be given peculiar form by our peculiar conditions. With nations, as with writers, it is not the first finding of a thing, "but the making something of it after it is found, that is of consequence." Nations "who have no past are pretty sure of having no future." Accordingly, for himself and for all in the circle of his influence,

Lowell tried to procure from all available sources whatever was most of worth. We are told that no other man of his age was so widely and understandingly familiar with the best in all literatures, and a glance at the range of his subjects, carrying him, as they do, into five different literatures, will convince one of great breadth. His allusions show intimacy with still other fields. And wherever one has personal familiarity one never finds Lowell less than master of his subject. When we read the "Shakespeare Once More" we feel that, though the last word cannot have been said on such a subject, yet so far as we are concerned Shakespeare criticism rests for the present where Lowell has left it. The essay on Dryden is temperate, yet far from "damning with faint praise." It is appreciative, sympathetic, but discriminating; and treats Dryden as a self-respecting man of letters might wish to be treated. Doubtless Mr. Stedman is right in saying that no other essay on Dryden is equal to it. Lessing's work is profoundly analyzed, and his importance reckoned. He has been treated, as Dryden was, with fairness. He is an original genius, and "the first German who had any conception of style." "In the history of literature it would be hard to find a man so stalwart, so kindly, so sincere, so capable of great ideas, whether in their influence on the intellect or the life, so unswervingly true to the truth, so free from the common weakness of his class." He has the faculty of construction "in a higher degree than any other German." Yet "he was no poet." In humor "the mace, and not the scimiter, was his weapon." His characters "seem something like machines." While we might have wished for an exception in Minna, we agree as to the edifying wise Jew (whom yet we like, perhaps overmuch) and as to the others. In the Wordsworth essay, if Wordsworth is sinned against the sin is one of omission. All that is said unfavorable to him seems just, but the greatness of Wordsworth under inspiration, while appreciated, is not made to put all faultiness out of view as generously as we might expect of Lowell. Perhaps the faults of Wordsworth are just the faults which Lowell could least overlook.

There is scarcely any subject in which we might sooner expect to find the measure of a critic than in his treatment of Dante. It is with admirable modesty that Lowell approaches this genius. He hopes only to "supplement" the book of Miss Rossetti, which he has made his text. It is not long, however, before we discover that we have a guide and a prophet. Lowell has power to do what Miss Rossetti proposes for herself in beginning the "Shadow of Dante"—to be "spiritualized by his spirit and upborne on his wings;" and we are the gainers. It would be ungrateful to say any reproaches because Lowell took Dante too literally in the matter of Brunetto Latini's "tutorship" (as if one should say that some venerable friend had been a father to him); or because, if he did not mean to deny Dante's sense of humor, he at least left his view so ambiguous that certain secondhand critics in our generation declare, "Dante had no humor." They forget, what Lowell could not more than momentarily have forgotten, that the test for such a matter is not in asking whether a writer is in any degree the humorist, but in asking whether he shows a sense of congruity. Lowell must not be read as some expositors read sacred Scripture, by separate phrases; he drops many a chance word that on reflection he would doubtless recall. As is usual where there is rapid characterization, while many of his off-hand sketches challenge comparison, some must not be taken as absolute. Whoever takes the trouble to read through the context, however, will rarely be led astray; for Lowell's understanding is rarely at fault or his real meaning far to seek. If in "My Garden Acquaintance" he observes that the robins sing "as a poet should, with no afterthought," one need not go to the *"Vita Nuova"* or the *"Ars Poetica"* for refutation. Plainly, Lowell is not giving advice, but wishing that poets could pour forth divine things with bird-like *abandon*. No one appreciated better than Lowell, theoretically at least, the need of afterthought, when he lamented, *"Littera scripta manet."*

The "by products" of study are most abundant in the study of Lowell. He gives us instantly what must be the fruit of

many years' ripening opinion upon some author not under discussion that he may have a clear comparison for the author who is. He drops immediately justified conclusions which other writers would take volumes to develop. In every page we are told, by way of illustration, things that we did not know and are glad to know; yet they are told so off-hand that we presently forget how recent is our knowledge. "Lowell makes a liberal education steal on you unawares." Lowell's style is such as we should expect of him—vigorous, individual, and of great variety. It is not a classic English style; quaint or foreign idioms are common. In diction it is thoroughly democratic, at least so far as concerns any recognition of caste among words. Lowell wants the best from all orders of expression. But the style has ease, clearness, and restful variety, and is remarkably adapted to the matter. How could he have spoken more fitly when he said of a passage in Dante that "the verses tremble with feeling and shine with tears"? Yet there is equal appropriateness when in speaking of good old Ben Jonson he says, with droll familiarity, "Ben, with his principles off, could soar and sing with the best of them." Continually the style is full of imagination and enlivened by the play of humor, and there is always a meaning even in the pleasantry. Lowell's power of epigram is rare. He can give us facts or reflections in a more compact and rememberable way than any other writer of his time; and this power is well kept subservient to its use of impressing thoughts about the main subject. In summing up the discussion of Lowell's style I will quote what Coleridge said of Hazlitt: "He says things of his own in a way of his own." At its best the style is both brilliant and beautiful; at its worst it is never less than clear; and it gives us a wholesome feeling that there is "a man behind the words," one of the best secrets in any writing.

Lowell is our greatest poet, and our greatest critic, and our greatest satirist. He stands not far from the front in things not within our present limits. Who better than he, for instance, would have been our diplomat for winning the cession

of English respect? He said of a man whose name would not be fitly mentioned with his own, "That he was a man of genius appeared unmistakably in his impressibility by the deeper meaning of the epoch in which he lived." That is the mark also of Lowell's genius—the genius which compelled him throughout. It was that which made him an eager participant in the "New England Renaissance." It made him catch what was best in the impulse of transcendentalism, escaping its error. It was that which gave him the voice of strong rebuke when wrong held itself up, and made him a prophet of reconciliation when strife was ended.

Lowell's criticism cannot soon be dispensed with, though criticism is not the best means to lasting fame; for it is emotions, not opinions or interpretations, that are eternal among men. He has given us some poetry that is sure to live; though, when one asks of how much there is certainty, the quantity is but small. "In literature, it should be remembered, a thing always becomes his at last who says it best, and thus makes it his own." Lowell has left opportunity for some other to put a new stamp on much of his work, and rob him of its lasting possession. But some bears his indelible mark.

As at the beginning so at the end, we have to say that Lowell clearly was greater than anything he did. Had he lived in more settled and serener times he might have been uninterrupted in one lofty achievement. Living when he did, he could perhaps have done more for personal eminence by refusing to be drawn into affairs, but he would not have done more for America, or even, it may be, for American letters. It will not be said of him, as he said of Klopstock, that "his immortality is one of preteritness."

C. H. Bielfeldt.

Art. V.—MIRACLES.

It is remarkable that the very facts which were put forward in the apostolic age as the most convincing proof of the truth of Christianity should in our day be the chief object of attack, or should be the greatest stumbling-block to many honest seekers who are anxious to accept the Christian doctrines but are deterred by the intellectual difficulties which the "signs" present. The cause, however, is not far to seek. With the development of physical science has came an increased knowledge of what we are accustomed to call the laws of nature and a deep conviction that nothing happens abnormally. There is a growing belief in the uniformity of nature. The substance of this belief is that every effect has its cause; that like causes under like circumstances invariably produce like effects. Nature, however, is here used in the restricted sense of the sum total of physical forces, and, following the argument of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason,* the basis of all knowledge is perceptions of a permanent force or substance whose quantum neither increases nor diminishes, and which give us sensations of extensive and intensive magnitudes. That can only be actual, therefore, which is bound up with those material conditions of experience which can result in sensations, and that only is possible which conforms to the discovered or the discoverable laws of pure perception and conception. A miracle does not do this, and it is accordingly something the reality and validity of which no scientifically educated person can admit. The denial of the possibility of miracles is, it will be seen, only a phase of the wider assertion that the supernatural is impossible, that belief in it is childish, and that the rationalistic interpretation of so-called religious phenomena is the only sane one. It becomes us, therefore, to examine

I. *The Possibility of Miracles.*

1. John Stuart Mill offers as a test for a miracle the following: "Were there present in the case such external conditions,

such second causes we may call them, that whenever these conditions or causes reappear the event will be reproduced? If there were, it is not a miracle; if there were not, it is." From this definition it is apparent that to one who holds that nature is only a name for the sum total of the mechanical and chemical forces of the universe there is no other mode of existence than that which can be perceived by the bodily senses, or to one who holds that thought is a function of the brain, that the brain secretes thought as the liver secretes bile, miracles must be a violation of the law of causation and hence impossible. But this is thoroughgoing materialism, and we deny the validity of materialism on the following grounds:

(*a*) It has up to date never shown that mental energy is simply a transformation of physical energy. It fails to explain the marked unlikeness of the physical and the mental series, to explain the unitary consciousness of the unitary subject which lies at the basis of all our mental life, to explain the spontaneity and the self-activity which Kant showed once for all to be a characteristic of mind. Granted that in nearly all its phases the mental life is profoundly dependent upon the organism and more especially upon the brain and the nervous system, we still maintain the validity of the statement made by Professor Ladd in summing up the results of his investigations in physiological psychology, that "the development of mind can only be explained as the progressive manifestation in consciousness of the life of a real being, which, although taking its start and direction from the action of the physical elements of the body, proceeds to unfold powers that are distinctively its own, according to laws which are specifically its own." Materialism is not the last word in philosophy. It fails satisfactorily to account for human consciousness. It denies human personality and human freedom, both of which are abundantly testified on various grounds.

Only listen to the supreme singers who have set to music the profoundest thoughts of the race and you will recognize that the history of the race shows no more unmistakable fact than that the human soul, whether impelled by blind superstí-

tion, by rational instincts, or by reasoned inductions, has ever reposed on the conviction of a supernatural order. Literature is but the expression of the deepest, fullest convictions of the human heart, and careful examination will show that the very warp and woof of literature is woven out of the belief that the things which are seen are temporal, while the things which are unseen are eternal. Dr. Diman has pointed out that no revolution which has ever taken place in the world's history could equal that which would be caused in modern society by a general renunciation of faith in unseen and supernatural things. It would be a revolution affecting man in all the conditions of his development, in all his relations to his fellows, in all his habits of thought, in all his motives of action, and in all his ideals of conduct.

(*b*) Materialism, furthermore, makes men mere automata for whom a fixed code of morals is impossible; it demands an entirely new and enlarged definition of matter, the right and wisdom it has not proved, and it leaves the definition and conception of life more confused and unsatisfactory than it has ever been before. We counted ten different definitions of the much-vaunted "Force" with which it endeavors to explain ultimate reality. Each one involved a different conception, strenuously advocated as against some other conception of said force, and each was a mere speculation, supported by no adequate proof. To say the least, materialism as a substitute for supernaturalism has not yet proved its case.

2. A more formidable argument for the impossibility of miracles is put forward by those who hold pantheistic conceptions of God. They make all things to begin and end with God, in whom as the great All-pervading Spirit they find the explanation of existence. They do not resolve God into nature, but they exalt nature to God and treat all the operations of nature as the manifestations of the supreme spiritual substance. Nothing happens or can happen in nature which is in contradiction to its universal laws, because these laws are the order of God's going, the very expression of his essence; and any interference such as is presupposed in mir-

acles would break up the order, would overthrow God's laws, would make him contradict himself, and hence would be an absolute impossibility. It is surprising what a hold this pantheism in its more refined forms has on present-day thinking. We have even detected it in the expositions of teachers and preachers who would have been startled had they been charged with unchristian or dangerous teaching. Let us examine the theory. It holds that we look at things under the mask of time and sense when we should look at them "under the form of eternity." Imagination enslaves common thought and makes it believe that because it can picture to itself a world of separate individual existences they must really exist, while the fact is that reality, substantiality, self-determined, independent existence, is to be found only in God. In all the universe there is no reality save God. Thought, extension, mind, matter are distinctions which exist only for our finite intelligences. Rise above imagination and illusion and we shall find an infinite substance into which all things are absorbed and of whose will and working all things seen are but the visible and sensible expression, and this substance we call God. Nature, therefore, embraces the sum of all existence and of all force, material and spiritual, and includes not only all physical movements but also the energy of man and of God. The power and efficiency of the Divine Being are thus transferred to the forces and the laws of nature and are restricted to its established uniformities. To such a system, of course, miracles are an impossibility.

Now, we object to this conception of God and nature *in toto*, because

(*a*) It offers no adequate explanation of the existence of the finite world or of individual beings, and it belies the facts which go to prove that there is a unity in which all a man's attributes and functions meet; a power of self-determination, a spontaneous source from which thought and conduct radiate; a power of distinguishing one's self as thinking from one's self as thought about; an order of existence which goes beyond the order of sensible experience, but which never-

theless includes the material order and elevates it to a higher use, just as the chemical includes and transfigures the mechanical or the vital includes and transfigures the chemical order. You may put root, stem, leaves, stamens, pistils, etc., together, but it takes a vital principle which you cannot put in them to make a rose, and that vital principle so unites these things that, however similar they may be, no rose is exactly like any other rose; and so it is of human individuality. This pantheistic conception ignores all these facts. "It is the passing away, as if by a suicidal act, of all consciousness, all activity, all individuality, into the moveless abyss of the Infinite."*

(*b*) Such a system knows nothing of moral distinctions. If in the universe there be no beings, no life but one, a finite moral agent becomes a contradiction in terms. We are simply the sport of imagination when we regard our spiritual life as anything other than a fragment of the Infinite, and our consciousness of independence, which we have regarded as the basis of morality, must be regarded as an evil, a thing which separates us from God. Like the Buddhist, we must regard its extinction as the highest good.

(*c*) This system implies either that God is the author of evil or that for God evil has no positive reality. Furthermore, "God is no nearer to and stands in no different relation to the pure heart than to that which is the haunt of selfish and sensual lusts. The lowest appetites and the loftiest moral aspirations, the grossest impurities and the most heroic virtues, are alike consecrated by the presence of God. Whatever is, is right. All natural passions carry with them their own sanction, for immersion in the natural is absorption in the divine."†

The fact is, there is no impossibility about a miracle which does not involve the impossibility of an intelligent, free, personal God. Professor Huxley admits the possibility of miracles, and Matthew Arnold does not dispute it. Huxley says: "Strictly speaking, I am unaware of anything that has a right

* Caird, *Fundamental Idea of Christianity.* † *Ibid.*

to the title of an 'impossibility,' except a contradiction in terms. There are impossibilities logical but none natural. A 'round square,' a 'present past,' 'two parallel lines that intersect' are impossibilities, because ideas denoted by the predicates *round, present, intersect* are contradictory to the ideas denoted by the subjects *square, past, parallel;* but walking on water, or turning water into wine, or procreation without male intervention, or raising the dead, are plainly not 'impossibilities' in this sense." "It might be otherwise," Huxley says, "if our present knowledge of nature exhausted the possibilities of nature, but it is sufficiently obvious, not only that we are at the beginning of our knowledge of nature, instead of having arrived at the end of it, but that the limitations of our faculties are such that we never can be in a position to set bounds to the possibilities of nature. We have knowledge of what is happening and of what has happened; of what will happen we have and can have no more than expectation grounded on our more or less correct reading of past experience and prompted by the faith begotten by that experience, that the order of nature in the future will resemble its order in the past."*

There is no miracle recorded in the Bible which is in any wise like a violation of the laws of thought. If there were we should be prevented from believing them by the very constitution of our minds; but the kind of difficulty which they present is easily explained. These miracles are not violations or suspensions, but subordinations, of the laws of nature. The law of gravitation causes an apple to fall to the ground, but the will and power of man is competent to subordinate that law, to catch the apple and hold it in mid-air. The same law holds down the water of the lake, but the superior power of sunlight bids the watery vapor up and away. It obeys, it forms into clouds, becomes condensed and falls to refresh a thirsty land. Certain chemical laws bring about decay in animal matter. The salt which preserves the meat does not destroy the chemical laws, it only hems them in and subor-

* Quoted by Marcus Dods in a lecture on Miracles.

dinates them. Bushnell well says, "To create anything that was not, to set on foot any plan that was not on foot, was itself a miracle, involving all the difficulties of a miracle subsequent." It is no more difficult to raise a man from the dead than to create a man or to ordain the evolutionary processes which finally result in the existence of a man. It is no more marvelous a thing to multiply the loaves in the hand of the Master than to ordain and superintend the processes which multiply the wheat in the furrow. We must not allow the continuities of nature to become fetiches before which we bow down and worship. The law of continuity is not a constitutive principle of nature. Kant showed that time and space are forms of the human intuition, glasses through which we are able to look into and interpret the external world. They are our glory, but they are our limitation. Now suppose for a moment beings whose understanding was confined to two dimensions of space. Length and breadth they know, but of height they have no conception whatever. They live on a plane. To move northward or southward, eastward or westward, would be within their power, but upward or downward would have no meaning for them. To such beings the advent of a visitor from the third dimension of space would be a miracle: it would be a break with all the laws by which their universe had been ordered in the past. We cannot assert the impossibility of such a thing unless we are prepared to assume that the laws of space which fetter and confine us on every side are the final and only laws for the whole universe, and it does not require an exhaustive knowledge of the Kantian philosophy to show at least that such a proposition has not yet been proven.*

3. There is another phase of this argument entitled to a moment's consideration. Miracles, it is argued, are contrary to the conception of God as the All-wise. The miracle is an intervention which can only be demanded by an imperfection in the existing order. This is inconsistent with the infinite wisdom and power of a God who made and pronounced all

* This illustration is given in article "Miracles" in the Hastings *Bible Dictionary*.

things good from the beginning and forbids a belief in that perfect system which we have a right to expect of him. This is really a relic of the old deism which thought of God as an absentee proprietor who made an absolutely perfect world from which he was ever afterward rigidly excluded, because like a perfect watch it was made to run by the forces he had wrapped up in it. On the one side this theory is open to several of the objections urged against pantheism, notably the one from the obliteration of moral distinctions as shown above. On the other side, Dr. Diman and other writers have shown that when a universe is governed by constant and invariable laws contrivance or the power of ingeniously devising plans to offset or subordinate certain laws is a logical necessity of beings characterized by freedom. The whole tendency of present-day thought is in the direction of freedom. Rigid necessitarianism may fairly be said to be a doctrine of the past. An intelligence which adapts means to ends, which uses offsets and contrivances for the accomplishment of its foreseen purposes, is inseparably bound up with the Christian conception of the universe. A miracle, then, may be defined as an event occurring in the physical world, unaccounted for by any of its known laws or forces, but manifesting a purpose and displaying an intelligence which warrants us in ascribing it to a spiritual cause or a divine volition, and such an event is not an impossibility until it is clearly proved that the existence of a free personal God is an impossibility and a delusion.

II. Realizing the force of these and similar arguments, modern unbelief directs its objections to the supposed impossibility of the *proof* rather than to the abstract impossibility of miracle itself. Hume says that "no testimony is sufficient to establish a miracle, unless the testimony be of such a kind that its falsehood would be more miraculous than the fact which it endeavors to establish." He continues: "There is not to be found in all history any miracle attested by a sufficient number of men, of such unquestioned good sense, education, and learning, as to secure us against all delusion in

themselves; of such undoubted integrity as to place them beyond all suspicion of any design to deceive others; of such credit and reputation in the eyes of mankind as to have a great deal to lose, in case of their being detected in any falsehood; and at the same time attesting facts performed in such a public manner and in so celebrated a part of the world as to render the detection unavoidable; all of which circumstances are requisite to give us a full assurance in the testimony of men."* He then goes on to argue that so-called miracles are to be accounted for by the passion for the wonderful in man, that they have been prevalent in savage and early periods of human history and have diminished as civilization has advanced, that the value of human testimony for such events is diminished by the well-known temptation to pose as prophet or apostle, and he concludes by examining a number of wonderful and miraculous accounts narrated by travelers and historians, attempting to show that no testimony for a miracle has ever amounted to a probability, much less to a proof. Now, this is a formidable arraignment and needs careful consideration. Let us take that miracle regarded by all the apostles, and particularly by Paul, as pivotal and decisive. Was their belief in the resurrection a delusion? Were they competent witnesses? That Jesus actually died was never questioned in ancient times. The soldiers, the disciples, the multitudes, the chief priests, and the Sanhedrin all seem to have been satisfied of the fact. The theft theory has long been abandoned as ridiculous. The rationalistic attempts to account for the belief in his resurrection by attributing to the women and the disciples an excited state of mind in which their longing to see their beloved one made them the victims of hallucination and delusion is sufficiently answered by the admission of the advocates of the theory themselves that time was needed to develop such a state of mind, while the fact is that the appearances began within three days of the crucifixion, were all completed within a space of fifty days, and then permanently ceased. Furthermore, at the time the

* Hume's *Enquiries*, 90-101.

resurrection is reported to have occurred the disciples were so depressed and disappointed that they gave up the whole thing, and subjective visions were about the last thing likely to befall them. Again, the record is that when told of the rising of the Lord "some doubted," to others the words of the women seemed as "idle tales," while we all know the story of doubting Thomas. Out of this critically skeptical mood they became thoroughly convinced of the fact, so that we may safely consider this vision theory as untenable. Other rationalists have agreed that Jesus was not really dead but in a swoon, from which, after lying for some hours in the cool cavern, with healing ointments and strongly scented spices about him, he readily recovered, to impress his followers with the conviction that he had risen from the dead. Against this theory is the clear testimony of the evangelists that Jesus was actually dead; but the fatal objection to it is that a Jesus who had stolen half dead out of the sepulcher, who crept about weak and ill, needing bandaging, strengthening, and medical treatment, and who within a little more than a month passed away could never have rallied the doubting, dispirited disciples and inspired them with the belief that he was a conqueror over death and the grave, that he was the Prince of life and peace, the confidence in whose resurrection was to lie at the basis of all their future ministry. The swoon hypothesis must go the way of the vision theory. These are the more formidable rationalistic attempts to account for this great miracle. What is sometimes called the telegram theory, and the attempt to explain the apostolic language as a series of mere rhetorical figures giving rise to a misunderstanding of the real meaning of the witnesses which resulted in a belief in the resurrection on the part of the early Church, may be dismissed as puerile. We may conclude that Jesus really died and that the apostles believed that he rose again.

There is an account of at least eight or ten distinct appearances. Prebendary Row his given a careful analysis of the evidence which shows that within twenty-seven years of the crucifixion miraculous powers were believed to reside in cer-

tain officers of the church, that even earlier the miracle-working power was considered one of the signs of an apostle, and that both Jesus and his disciples believed themselves to be possessed of superhuman powers. Now these disciples were neither idiots, insane persons, nor fanatics. They had opportunity to know the facts, they were men of sound common sense, capable of judging of the facts they witnessed. This is abundantly attested by the deeds recorded of them, by the writings which they have left, by what they accomplished in their subsequent lives, and by the effect of their acts and words in the centuries since. They were men of integrity. We know the character of Peter, James, and John as well or better than we know that of Cicero, Plato, Socrates, or Cæsar. Despite some imperfections, they were, on the whole, holy men; so morally conscientious as to be incapable of very serious double-dealing, reprimanding each other even for their smaller shortcomings; so outspoken against equivocation or dishonesty of any sort that deception on their part must have discredited them and rendered impossible the work which history abundantly shows that they performed. Above all, however, we can conceive of no adequate motive for misrepresentation. They were in a very large degree disinterested witnesses. We need not recount the tremendous sacrifices which Paul made when he abandoned relatives and friends, all the associations of a Pharisee—domestic, social, literary, civil, and religious—toiled with his own hands to get bread while he preached a doctrine which to his dying day made him an outcast, hounded from city to city by sleepless enemies and detractors; nor need we call attention to the fact that these men all died for their testimony. We should also note that this was not an uncritical age. Cicero had been in the forum and senate house just a little before; Virgil and Horace were writing their immortal poems in that age; Greek culture was widespread; Socratic questioning was not unknown; yet these men built a church a corner stone of which was belief in the miracle of the resurrection. They present a case which meets every one of Hume's objections.

Realizing the force of these facts, Huxley, who follows largely in the wake of Hume, depends upon the strangeness of the events rather than on the insufficiency of the testimony. He asks if any testimony would render it credible that a centaur had been seen trotting down Regent Street. There is no analogy between such an event and the miracles of the New Testament, for the centaur is itself a monstrosity, while the miracles of Jesus are the removal of obstructions which hinder nature from being accepted as the expression of God's good will to man. Moreover, the centaur is an isolated phenomenon, proceeding from nothing, going nowhere, signifying nothing, accomplishing nothing, meaningless, stamped on the face of the idea as a pure fancy, while the miracles of Jesus reveal the character and benevolence of God, enable man to think of God as merciful, loving, and good,* and they appear as the natural outcome of a manifestation which had been prepared for through a long series of years. They are in perfect congruity with the person who wrought them and with the revelation which they were to authenticate.

We may confidently assert that Jesus was neither a mere man, produced by the ordinary forces which energize in the moral and spiritual realm, nor the climax resulting from the survival of the fittest in an ordinary evolution; for if he was why is it that these forces have succeeded in producing only one such man in the whole course of authentic history, or that in more than fifty generations since his death we have neither seen his superior nor have these evolutionary forces produced another at all approaching him in many of his characteristics? Egypt, Assyria, Greece, Rome, and Israel herself all had great men; modern nations have had their patriots and their heroes, but Jesus is the only man who stands out as sinless in the verdict of friend and foe alike, the only divinely attractive personality, the center of a unique moral and spiritual power, ever increasing as the centuries pass. He is the only catholic man, the only man entirely free from the impress of the environment in which he was born and reared,

* Dr. Dods in his lecture on Miracles finely elaborates this idea.

free from the peculiarities of race and nation, speaking with equal ease to civilized man and savage, to philosopher and peasant, capable of acting on all ages, all temperaments, all nations, and all conditions, and he is the only man who has ever been free from such trammels. Where is one of the ancestors or the successors of Jesus who made an approach to his greatness or his catholicity? He is the one only man who really illustrates the solidarity of mankind. Now, does it add nothing to the credibility of the Gospel miracles that they were the outworking of the life and character of a person thus unique in his power and personality and already miraculous in his sinlessness? To such a character these signs were relevant, significant, and congruous. Jesus certainly professed to have performed miracles. If they were unreal we are compelled to face one of two alternatives: Either, (*a*) He who was the greatest of the sons of men labored under some kind of mental hallucination; or, (*b*) He who was the sternest denouncer of hypocrisy must himself have consciously perpetrated a fraud or have so adapted himself to the superstitions of the people as to have purposely deceived them. No sober thinker would, in our day, undertake to defend either of these alternatives. You must, therefore, account for his claims and his assumptions; and the explanation is found in the fact that he perfectly revealed God, that when the world saw him it saw God and saw him to be more and better than it had supposed. Generation after generation has confirmed the judgment that such an assumption involves no inconsistency, no extravagance, no grotesque pretension, for he perfectly played the part and displayed the character of God. As Rousseau has said, "If the life and death of Socrates were those of a sage, the life and death of Jesus Christ were those of a God." His miracles were in perfect harmony with God's presence and power, and accomplished results which exhibited the nature and character of his kingdom. They were perfectly consonant with the person who performed them, and they had a rational purpose.

Of course, such an argument hints that New Testament

miracles are better authenticated than Old Testament ones, and that the miracles of Jesus himself are more credible than those of the apostles. We are perfectly willing to accept that conclusion. If, however, the argument establishes the certainty of these deeds on the part of Jesus, and if he is the expression of God to the world so that God is back of Elijah, Peter, Paul, and John, it will not be very difficult to establish a very strong probability of the authenticity and genuineness of the miraculous deeds of the disciples. This leads us to consider

III. *The Purpose of the Miracles of Jesus.*

Matthew and Luke both record Jesus' stinging reproof of an evil and adulterous generation which was always seeking a sign. Again, in John iv, 48, the Master is represented as breaking out in a passionate protest, "Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will in no wise believe." Here as elsewhere he refuses to attempt to settle men's doubts about his Messiahship by astounding feats of miraculous power. He accuses them of asking for miracles because the light that was in them was darkness. The Ninevites repented under a less influence, a heathen queen did better than these Jews, and the ends of the earth displayed greater wisdom than his own highly favored people. Their spiritual vision was paralyzed so that they misunderstood him and totally misunderstood the nature and the purpose of miracles. Again, in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, Jesus represents Abraham as saying, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, if one rise from the dead." It is clear that Jesus did not regard the authentication of his divine mission as the first purpose of his miracles. They did have evidential value, for as Nicodemus acutely discerned, "No man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him." But this evidential value was secondary and inferential. Their primary purpose was a benevolent one. They were acts of unparalleled divine love. The constant desire of Jesus was to do good to the uttermost extent of his power; hence he healed the sick, cleansed the lepers, cast out

demons, and fed the hungry multitude. He cared for men's bodies as well as for their souls, for his kingdom was to cover the whole realm of human well-being. He proclaimed a salvation and announced a system the intent of which was that man should be perfect physically, morally, intellectually, and spiritually; that he should have a soundness worthy of his high destiny as the Son of God. The miracles of healing showed the divinity of his love, the measurelessness of his compassion, and the benevolence of his purpose toward humanity; while the nature miracles asserted the supremacy of his kingdom and demonstrated the possibility of the minute providence announced in the Sermon on the Mount and in other discourses.* They showed that God was able to vindicate the interests of his kingdom at all hazards and to make that providence a reality, for wind and wave, sea and sky, electric force and occult power alike yielded to his control. These wonders, therefore, were a prominent part of the revelation of God by Christ, but like his whole character and person they were misunderstood and continually misinterpreted by the Jews. They had eyes but they saw not, ears but they heard not; even parables concealed as well as revealed truth. These miracles were not the work of a magician calculated to excite wonder and admiration; they were what Jesus himself was, the revelation of God's presence and love; they constantly accomplished results which proclaimed the kingdom and the character of God and displayed God's good will to man. They were exalted revelations of the nature and character of the heavenly Father, not tricks to convince men of the Son's Messiahship. They were misapprehended for the same reason that their author was misapprehended. The remedy was not more powers and wonders such as the obtuse Pharisee was continually demanding, but more light, more spiritual insight; a more devout and faithful following of eternal principles revealed in Moses and the prophets, implanted in the very constitution of man, and revealed supremely in Jesus himself.

* This latter theory is strongly set forth by Dr. A. B. Bruce.

Out of this grows the secondary and evidential value of miracles. Jesus performed them because he was able so to do, and he was able because he was the Son of God, the revealer of the infinite personal power behind the universe. In him God speaks to us most plainly, manifests himself most certainly. Hence when John the Baptist sent his disciples Matt. xi, 3-6) to ask Jesus, "Art thou he that cometh, or look we for another?" he replied, "Go your way and tell John the things which ye do hear and see: the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, and the dead are raised up, and the poor have good tidings preached to them. And blessed is he, whosoever shall find none occasion of stumbling in me." These mighty acts of mercy and help disclosed and certified their author as the true Son and revealer of the God alike of nature and of grace. In this view the oft-repeated contention that the miracles were useless, even if proved, becomes a groundless assumption. They had an important mission and rendered a real service.

Has the age of miracles passed away? Doubtless it has, for we have abundant evidence without them. There is a sense in which the great evangelistic and missionary movements of the twentieth century are miracles as great as those which Jesus wrought. They reveal the divine power and the divine love still active among men, still working for the perfection of the race. He who believes not these would not believe though disciples should perform signs and wonders. We have many lines of evidence which were not open to men of the first century. We have an ever-opening book of divine revelation in Christianity itself. The continued operations of the pentecostal Spirit in the ceaseless producing of living Christian experience and transforming of the souls of men is no inconsiderable clue to the Christianity of the past.

Thomas Nicholson

Art. VI.—LUCIAN ON THE PHILOSOPHERS OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

The most full and satisfactory testimony to life and manners in the second century of our era is given by Lucian. That period is full of interest to those who, following the vicissitudes of our Christian faith, care to see the Church, in its youth and its unity, struggling against odds such as are now scarcely conceivable. Rise as high as we may in affectionate construction of this history, we are likely, because dealing with a living and regenerating faith, to achieve results of more enduring value than in considering mere dreams of an idealized past.

The life and manners of the people indicate what forms of opposition were to be overcome by this Christian faith and also afford tokens of progress, and as a witness to these facts Lucian is incomparable. The canon of Scripture had been closed. Such light as is thrown by the New Testament upon the customs and constitution of society had been only incidental to the main purpose of the book, but that light shines no longer. Lucian is a writer whose main interest lay in the delineation of ordinary types of character. His works, as they have been preserved to us, far exceed in bulk those of any nearly contemporaneous author. He is a man very happy in his literary habit, extremely readable, being, as few men are, both witty and humorous. He was a wide traveler. We find him in Asia Minor, Greece, Rome, Gaul, Africa; in all these regions observing men and pursuing the literary occupations which suited the intellectual development of his life: first as a pleader in the courts, then as a professional rhetorician, finally as a student of philosophy. References in his writings place him between 120 and 200 A. D. Finally, in the words of Jacob:* "In the greater part of his writings he by no means depicts Greek manners, but the manners of his contemporaries in the Roman world under the Antonines."

* *Characteristics of Lucian*, Hamburg, 1832, p. 17.

Those cannot approach Lucian with any serious purpose who permit themselves to be influenced by a prejudice which has unfortunately grown up against him. He has been charged with skepticism and impurity. Skeptical he certainly was of much that reasonably provoked him to such an attitude, but not of certain very fundamental things which cannot be detailed here, and as to the other matter his writings call for no more expurgation than those of Shakespeare; his *True History,* a prototype of *Gulliver's Travels,* is fully as high in moral tone as the work of Dean Swift.

Of the various types of character delineated, the philosophers seem to interest Lucian more than any other class of people. In fact, he has so much to say about them that one would think the philosopher a very prominent figure, numerous and assertive as well, in the second century. Readers of the New Testament are prepared for an unfavorable judgment upon this class of men. The apostle Paul had instructive experiences with them.* Of the "certain of the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers" who fell in with him at Athens, some asked, "What would this babbler say?" Some said, "He seems to be a proclaimer of strange gods." Gallio proved to be only an aristocratic dilettante.† Tyrannus did nothing more, apparently, than lend the privileges of his "school."‡ Quintilian, who was contemporary with St. Paul, may help us to understand this attitude of indifference. He says:§ "I will freely concede that many under the old teachers of wisdom have learned nobility and have so lived as they have learned; but now the greatest vices, on the part of most, hide themselves under that name. Thus men take no more pains through virtue and endeavor to be called philosophers, but they hide the vilest customs under earnest looks." And some practical results working out in life no doubt led to that earnest warning of the apostle:‖ "Take heed lest there shall be anyone that maketh spoil of you through his philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudi-

* Acts xvii, 18. † *Ibid.*, xviii, 12-17. ‡ *Ibid.*, xix, 9.
§ *Inst. Or.*, 1, Prooem., § 15. ‖ Col. ii, 3.

ments of the world, and not after Christ." Lucian writes of the philosophers as a class. He pictures them as quarrelsome, ignorant, vain, avaricious, lazy, hypocritical, and immoral. No doubt there were many to whom his satires did not apply. We would say this of Lucian himself, for he became, as he reveals in his Hermotimus, a student of philosophy at the age of forty. Citations from his *Dialogues of the Dead,* the *Sale of Lives,* and the *Angler* will serve as specimens of his motive and method.

Dr. Jebb says the *Dialogues of the Dead* are "brilliant satires upon the living."* They are such through a satirical handling of popular conceptions of the life of the world of departed spirits. In the tenth of this series we may see how our author makes his drive at the philosophers. A party of those lately departed from life is represented as coming down to cross the river Styx. They are so many that Charon fears his boat will not hold them. It is old, leaky, and does not ride on an even keel. So he and Hermes, the conductor of all such parties, decide that each *voyageur* must strip down to the naked soul: "They must embark," says Charon, "leaving all these superfluities on the shore." Hermes stands at the head of the ladder and will suffer no one to descend until he has complied with the conditions. One of the passengers-to-be is a philosopher. Another is Menippus, who lived as a Cynic in the first half of the first century B. C. He is worthy of mention because he is evidently Lucian's hero in philosophy and appears in many of his pieces as a satirical jester. The approach of the philosopher to Charon's ferry-boat is after this manner:

HERMES. Who is this, grave in appearance, high-headed, this man who lifts his eyebrows, this thoughtful character, he who has let his beard grow long?

MENIPPUS. It is a certain philosopher, Hermes. I might rather say a juggler, and full of quackery. So strip him too, for you will see many laughable things covered by his cloak.

HERM. Put off your pretense first (philosopher strips off his outer garment), then all these things also. Zeus! What an amount of imposture he has accumulated! And how much ignorance, and

* *Greek Literature*, p. 153.

strife, and vainglory, and profitless disputations, and flowery words, and twisted sentences! And no end of labor spent in vain, and not a little gossip, and nonsense and petty talk, and, by Zeus! this money and luxury and immodesty and temper and good living and effeminacy! For these things do not escape me, though you have very cunningly hidden them. And put off your falsehood, and conceit, and your thinking yourself better than others. If you were to go on board with all these things what ship of fifty oars could receive you?

MENIP. He has the heaviest thing of all hidden yet under his armpit.

HERM. What is it, Menippus?

MENIP. Flattery, Hermes; a thing useful in many ways while he was alive.

Then when they are all embarked and under way the ghosts begin to groan, for that feature of the voyage is according to popular notion, and Hermes says:

What do you groan for, foolish ones? and especially you, philosopher?

PHIL. Because, Hermes, I was thinking the soul to be immortal.

MENIP. He lies. It's likely he had another cause for his sorrow.

HERM. What sort of things does he grieve for?

MENIP. Because he will never again feast at long-drawn-out banquets, nor, going out by night concealed from all men by wrapping his head in his mantle, will he make the round of the stews, and then deceiving the young in the morning receive their money for his wisdom, forsooth! These things grieve him.

Christian or not, Lucian believes in immortality, in the fixedness of attained character, and in the effects of sin wrought in the inner nature as the punishment of sin, and in this and other passages he powerfully illustrates these truths.

The *Sale of Lives* and the *Angler* are companion pieces. The first of these is of interest because it is in the nature of a prelude to the *Angler*. The sale is an auction for the benefit of Zeus; the auctioneer is Hermes, who will be seen to fulfill varied functions in the Olympian economy. The commodities are philosophers, whom Zeus has in stock. The buyer is supposed to take his purchase as the guide of his life, hence the title of the piece. The salesman gives a succinct characterization of each philosopher, and after he has himself in colloquy with the buyer given the merits of his own system, all from the Lucianic point of view, they go for various

prices. Socrates brings twenty-five hundred dollars, Pythagoras one hundred and eighty because he has a golden thigh; Diogenes brings the least, six cents, because he will make nothing better than a sailor or a gardener. We need say nothing more about the *Sale* than that the various philosophies have only the value of a mere dilettanteism. The consummation of all this comes to pass in the *Angler*. In this piece the responsible author of the *Sale* is represented as being cornered in the Athenian graveyard by the worthy philosophers themselves, who have secured the privilege of spending one day on earth for the purpose of catching and chastising their traducer. The outcome of the *Angler* is that Lucian justifies his low estimate of the services rendered humanity by the philosophers. With rapid dialogue, with repartee seasoned with Attic salt, with parodies upon the poets, Lucian saves himself from immediate destruction at the hands of the outraged philosophers, who are led on by Socrates, and gains the privilege of defending himself before Philosophy herself. They go in search of Philosophy and, finding her, repair to the Acropolis. That is, true philosophy is not extinct though philosophers are a despicable lot. Diogenes volunteers to make the speech for the prosecution, because, as he says:

> I have been insulted most of all, having been auctioned off for six cents.

The speech of Diogenes is characteristic, for he had said in the *Sale of Lives*:*

> You must be bold and impudent, and must revile all men impartially, both kings and common men. Let your dialect be barbarous and your utterance discordant and without culture, like a dog.

Nevertheless he is applauded by his own party. Lucian, in his rejoinder, claims he had intended no wrong to the men before him, the acknowledged masters in philosophy. He exclaims why he has made light of the names of Socrates and Plato and Chrysippus and others. Having been a professional rhetorician and pleader, he had resorted to philosophy

* § 10.

after he had learned to what wretched tricks he was expected to resort, "deceit and falsehood and impudence and clamor and factious strivings, and ten thousand other things." He goes on:*

When I but inclined toward your truths I began to wonder at thee [that is, Philosophy], as was right, and at all these with you, as the lawgivers of the best life, ready also to give a hand to those striving after this life, commending also the most seemly and profitable things, that no one may err and pass them by, but, looking earnestly to the rules which you have proposed, may harmonize and guide his own life by them—a thing which, by Zeus! few of us do. But when I saw many possessed not by love of philosophy, but only of the credit that comes from the affair, being very much like good men in things convenient and evident, and of just that dimension that makes them easy for everyone to imitate—I speak of the beard, and the walk, and the attire—yet contradicting life and conduct by their habit, caring for things contradictory to you, philosophers, and destroying the repute of their doctrine, I was angry; and the matter appeared to me just as when some actor of tragedy, being himself soft and effeminate, represents Theseus, or Achilles, or even Hercules, neither stepping nor speaking in an heroic manner, but hiding his womanishness under a great mask. . . .

(§ 32.) For if men should see one of these pretenders practicing anything evil or unseemly or impure, there is none but would lay the blame to philosophy itself, and then to Chrysippus or Plato or Pythagoras, or of whomsoever the sinner had made himself namesake. And from him who lived the bad life men would continually draw evil conclusions of you who died long ago; so that you would be condemned by default with him, and be dragged down into a like ruin.

When I saw these things I did not suffer them, but confuted these impostors, and distinguished them from you.

This is the substance of the defense by which, no doubt, Lucian sought to reach and influence his contemporaries. All this was not written for the sake merely of the literary performance. Lucian is acquitted in these words:

What, indeed, shall we say but that he be released from the accusation, and be placed upon record as a friend of ours.

Then it is proposed to carry the war into Africa and there is a call sent out as follows:

Hear; be silent. The philosophers are to come to the Acropolis, and make their defense before Virtue and Philosophy and Justice.

* *Angler*, § 30.

A few respond, true philosophers who have no fear of the trial, but they are soon lost in the noise and pushing of a rabble that comes in answer to a different call. Lucian calls:

> Hear; be silent. Such as pass for philosophers, and such as think that for them there is something in the name, are to come to the Acropolis for the distribution. Two minæ shall be given to each one and a flat cake of sesame. Whoever can show a long beard shall also receive a cake of figs. . . . Bless me! how the path up became full of struggling men just as soon as they heard of the two minæ.

In a trice the Acropolis is filled with a crowd clamoring for the money and food. As a final test Lucian proposes to bait a hook with a fig and a bit of money, and fish for philosophers. This is at once the climax of absurdity and the artistic consummation of the piece. We cannot forego the description of the way in which comes up the victim who has the outward appearance of a philosopher of the order of Diogenes. The dialogue goes on:

> LUCIAN. Do thou, sportsman Poseidon and friend Amphitrite, send many fishes up our way! Ah! I see a sea wolf. I know him by his golden brows.
>
> CONFUTATION. No, it is a shark. He approacheth the hook, gaping. He smells the gold, he comes nearer. He touches it. He's taken it. Let us haul him up.
>
> LUC. Now do you take hold with me of the line. Up he comes. Hold! I know who thou art, most excellent fish. This is a Cynic. Hercules! the teeth! What do you say, Diogenes? Do you know who this is, whether he is any relation to you?
>
> DIOG. Not the least.
>
> LUC. What then? How much ought he to be considered worth? For I sold him for six cents this morning.

This is the outcome in every case. The genuine philosophers fail to recognize those who have assumed their names.

When we remember that in the ancient world the philosophers were the teachers of morality, that they sought in their speculations for the real truth in those great questions of duty and faith which so mightily influence men, that they were to their own times what the exponents of truth in Christian pulpits are to the times in which we live, and that the young in their learning of the ways of life came to them for the sanctions of the true life, we can weigh Lucian's testi-

mony to the prevalent character of those who undertook this teaching. His testimony is that they are venal and impure hypocrites. We could understand the situation if to-day we were to behold in the great majority of the ministers of the Christian religion an untrue, self-seeking company, ignorant of the true purposes of their own calling, instead of being obliged to confess, with an always genuine sorrow, that here and there there is an undeniable lapse from the true ideal of Christian service.

But why is it that the pursuit of philosophy, an occupation in itself noble, could come to such degradation as this? The explanation is in the fact that this essentially noble pursuit had become separated from the active conduct of life. It has been said by Maurice:* "The only true way of considering philosophy is in connection with life of the world, and not as a set of merely intellectual speculations and systems." And K. G. Jacob says, in a work already quoted:† "The philosophy of the time of Lucian was no longer the philosophy of that earlier time when youths and men in the gardens of the Academy, upon the margin of the Ilissus, or in the halls of the Gymnasium hung upon the lips of the wise and with them sought to solve the mystery of being and of the world. The degeneracy of the government in the free Greek states, the anarchy consequent upon the Macedonian ascendency, and endless subjection under the domination of Rome, had made an end of such philosophical conversations. Greek life and Greek science spread themselves, indeed, after that time in the provinces of the Roman empire; but in the last times of the republic, and in the beginning of the empire, that noble philosophy of the Greeks was vainly sought which not only hid itself in the shadows of the schools but would also make itself active for life." A gross materialism such as finds many manifestations in our own times, showing itself in the corrupt self-seeking incident to the decadent Greek democracies, had first stifled the nobler energies of men. Then, manifesting itself in the despotism of the

* Life, vol. i, p. 202. † *Characteristics of Lucian*, p. 53.

empire, it had crushed all aspirations after personal excellence and had reduced philosophy, in the time and before the time of Lucian, to a set of empty phrases. Besides this discouragement of goodness under the tyranny of political circumstances there is no doubt that the class of teachers with whom this paper is concerned were contaminated by the general degradation of that age. Until the divine regeneration of Christianity brought its heaven-descended change into the world, few escaped the vortex into which society was plunging. Undoubtedly, also, the mad despair to which men had come in their universal skepticism, their renunciation of the very principle of faith, created a demand for some form of self-justification, and this could be most readily supplied by these who in happier times could have led men by the teachings of philosophy to self-knowledge and virtue. By yielding to the influences about them the philosophers no doubt hastened the downward motion.

This was but the just fate of a purely human system of instruction and guidance. Christianity renewed society by bringing to bear upon its corruptions the influence of the personality, both divine and human, of its Founder. By exalting the rights and idealizing the possibilities of the individual the teachings of Christ have elevated all life and all the pursuits of men, and philosophy has been restored to its rightful honors and made handmaiden to religion and progress. The second century has for us this interest: that we see in it the turning of this conflict. And Lucian has this value for us: that he testifies to life and manners in which the progress of this conflict is most evident.

Wesley Wood Smith

Art. VII.—THE PLACE AND WORK OF THE LAITY IN THE CHURCH.

The saving of the world waits upon the conviction of the common, or average, man that he is called of God to the work of evangelization. God has not chosen to speak to the world save through men who are conscious that they have met him face to face and have the right to speak to and for him without the consent or help of any intermediary. In this is involved all the problems of our own and of all ages. In its great sweep it touches all life and is concerned with all the philosophies of life. The growing belief in democracy must go for its justification, as it does for its inspiration, back to the fundamental truth that God is no respecter of persons; that all our offices, orders, and dignities are nothing to him, that he counts all men as his children, whatever their color or country or place on the earth, and that his favor is not to be guaranteed by any human organization, much less by any man, but only by personal righteousness. A true philosophy of history must regard the conflicts of the race, and the various changes in the beliefs and social conditions of men as well as in their aspirations and ideals, as but the expression of man's consciousness of his personality: his absolute right as a son of a divine Father, and because of that fact, to live his own life, subject only to those requirements which grow out of the rights of the other individuals associated in the school of him who is Teacher and Ruler as well as Father.

Judaism, at its best, witnesses to this faith. Its spiritual expression was a Theocracy: every Israelite free because he was under the immediate rule of Jehovah, everyone privileged to come before God as his own priest. Abraham, without the help of the official religion of his time and country, is represented as going out alone under the stars and talking to God, and making a covenant with God which he so strenuously believes that, in the light of it, he abandons home and native land to seek a country of which he personally knows nothing.

Jacob, as the heir of promise, leaves his father's house for a foreign land, and while on his journey sees the heavens opened and a ladder extending from earth to heaven on which his faith carries him, with the shining hosts, up to the very throne of God. Moses, the founder of the Israelitish nation, sees God alone in a burning bush, then returns to his people and leads them, out of Egypt and out of bondage, to the borders of their promised land. It was this same great leader who, when it was reported to him that certain ones were prophesying without commission from him, uttered those memorable words which not only reveal his own nobility of character but are worthy of being the motto of this new century: "Would that all the Lord's people were prophets." Take any of the great leaders of Israel. What one can be named, king or prophet, who did not believe that he held his commission directly from Jehovah? which was authority enough.

It is our habit, when referring to Israel, to think of it as a state controlled by a priesthood, and of the religion as a highly organized ritualism capable of being understood and carried out only by an official class before whom the laity were as the dust in the balance. In answer to this popular belief it may be said, in general terms, that whatever is priestly or highly ritualistic in the religion of Israel pertains not to the essence of that religion but to what is accidental, what is due to the corruption of the early faith or what is permitted on account of the hardness of men's hearts. According to Wellhausen the early faith can be summed up in the formula: "Jehovah is the God of Israel, and Israel is the people of Jehovah." In the beginning there was no priesthood, as we now understand the term. According to Robertson Smith: "Among the nomadic Semites, to whom the Hebrews belonged before they settled in Canaan, there has never been any developed priesthood. . . . The ritual observances of the ancient Arabs were visits to the tribal sanctuary to salute the god with a gift of milk, first fruits, or the like, the sacrifice of firstlings or vows, and an occasional pilgrimage to discharge a vow at the annual feast and fair. . . . These acts

required no priestly aid; each man slew his own victim and divided the sacrifice in his own circle." The same writer goes on to say that "the whole structure of Hebrew society at the time of the Conquest was almost precisely that of a federation of Arab tribes. The old individualism of the Semitic nomad still held its ground. Thus the firstlings, first fruits, and vows are still the free gifts of the individual, which no human authority exacts and which every householder presents and consumes with his circle in a sacrificial feast without priestly aid." Gradually ritual usurps the place of teaching in Israel. "In the time of Josiah altar service and not the function of 'teaching' had become the essential thing in priesthood. The holiness of Israel centers in the sanctuary, and round the sanctuary stand the priests. The bases of priestly power under the system are the unity of the altar, its inaccessibility to laymen and to the inferior ministers of the sanctuary, and the specific atoning function of the blood of priestly sacrifices. All these were unknown to old Israel: the altars were many, they were open to laymen, and the atoning function of the priest was judicial, not sacrificial." We know that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob performed priestly acts though they had never been consecrated as priests; performed them as did Melchizedek, king of Salem, who is called "priest of God Most High," after whose order, according to the book of Hebrews, and not after the Aaronic priesthood, which is considered "a deflection" from the order of Melchizedek, was Christ. Moses's father-in-law, Jethro, was, so far as the record shows, a layman, as was Moses himself, yet he is called "priest of Midian." The whole Jewish nation was designed, according to the record in Exodus, to be "a kingdom of priests," everyone free to appear before Jehovah in his own behalf. As late as the time of David we find it recorded in 2 Sam. viii, 18, that "David's sons were priests." De Wette and Gesenius regard this as "a revival of the old household priesthoods."

Not only was the priesthood something essentially foreign to the fundamental thought in the religion of Israel, and to

God's purpose to raise up a holy nation in which each member should be a priest unto God, but the priesthood as an institution was not nearly so influential as we are accustomed to think. In early Israel the prophets and in later Israel the scribes, and particularly the synagogue, were not only the true leaders of Israel but they often exercised what must be regarded as priestly functions. The great men of Israel, Samuel, David, Solomon, Elijah, Elisha, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, were laymen who did not hesitate, when they thought proper, to assert their right to speak to God and for him without any so-called consecration. "Samuel, who was not a priest, nor even a Levite, performed every function of a priest all his life long." At the dedication of Solomon's temple "the king is the one predominant figure, and the high priest is not once mentioned." It was Solomon, and not a priest, who blessed the people and offered the dedicatory prayer. "Three times a year, we are told, he offered—and for all that appears, offered with his own hand without the intervention of any priesthood—burnt offerings and peace offerings upon the altar."* The burden of every true prophet, and the prayer of every Israelite who understood the genius of his nation's providential history, was for One who should restore to Israel its pristine freedom and to each individual his place in the national life and worship as a king and priest unto God. The book of Hebrews reflects Jewish aspiration as well as represents Christian thought. Its masterly argument in behalf of the mediatorial work of Christ must have appealed, in a peculiarly powerful manner, to every Jew who had read carefully his country's history. In his concluding words on the subject of the priesthood Robertson Smith says of the author of the Hebrews: "He easily demonstrates the inadequacy of the mediation and atoning rites of the Old Testament and builds upon this demonstration the doctrine of the efficient high-priesthood of Christ, who, in his sacrifice, truly 'led his people to God;' not leaving them outside as he entered the heavenly sanctuary, but taking them with him

* F. W. Farrar, *The Expositor's Bible.*

into spiritual nearness to the throne of grace. This argument leaves no room for a special priesthood in the Christian Church." It puts all on the same basis. All may pass into the holiest through the atoning blood; all, without distinction, are ministers of the grace of God.

How changed the attitude of sacerdotalists since the learned studies of Hatch and Lightfoot and others on the Christian ministry have been published is seen in the recent works of Bishop Gore and Canon Moberly. The last named, in his large volume entitled *Ministerial Priesthood*, a book whose Christian spirit is above criticism, defines his position thus: "Now I have insisted that what Christ is the Church, which is Christ's mystical body, must also be. If Christ is Prophet, the Church is prophetic. If Christ is King, the Church is royal. If Christ is Priest, the Church is priestly." No one insists with greater positiveness than Dr. Moberly that it is the Church, and not the minister, that possesses this priestly character. In the chapter on "Relation Between Ministry and Laity" he says: "What, then, exactly is this spiritual Body; and of whom does it consist? Most emphatically we reply, that it consists of, and means, not in any way the clergy as such, but the whole corporation or Church of Christ. . . . The spiritual privilege, the divine access, the life of, and with, and by, and unto God, are essentially the possession of all, not of some; of the whole Body, primarily, as a whole (for the corporate life precedes and transcends the individual); of individuals as they are true members of the Body, not as they are members to whom this function, or that, in the organism of the Body, is assigned."* This then is the conclusion: If there is a priesthood in the Church it belongs to the Church and not to the individuals, except as they are living members of the Church. In this respect one member has the same place as another. But if it be asked, "What is the relation of ministers specifically ordained to this total life and power of the total Body?" the answer is: "They are organs of the Body through which the life, inherent in the

* *Ministerial Priesthood*, pp. 66, 67.

total Body, expresses itself in particular functions of detail." The crux of the whole argument then lies in the question, "What are the organs?" Dr. Moberly has his answer. He says, in effect, that the organs of the Body are what they are and where they are by divine appointment, though the Church is given permission to ratify such appointment. He finally arrives at the conclusion that the ministers appointed in accordance with the High Anglican view of Church government are the true organs of the Body of Christ. Suppose we accept the statement that the Church, as a Church, represents Christ in his priestly work, does it not inevitably follow that every member of the Church, who is such in reality, has the priestly character on account of such relationship? Certainly that is Paul's contention in his first letter to the Corinthians: "All the members of the body, being many, are one body. . . . For the body is not one member but many. . . . And the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee: or again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. Nay, much rather, those members of the body which seem to be more feeble are necessary: and those parts of the body, which we think to be less honorable, upon these we bestow more abundant honor; and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness." The point is that every member of the body has his own special work and function. "To each one is given the manifestation of the Spirit to profit withal." Hence no one can say to the others, "I have no need of you." Every member has his place. Even the humblest is needed, for he, if he belongs to Christ, has his work of ministering to the others. If it be said that the hands are the divinely appointed organs to act for and in behalf of the body, it can be said with equal force that the eyes, the ears, the feet are divinely appointed organs of the body. And we must not forget the internal organs which, though unseen, act for the body. In fact every part of the body has its particular function in caring for and acting in behalf of the whole. This means, if it means anything, that every real member of the Church is, equally with every other member, a king and priest unto God. To argue that only

those who are chosen in accordance with the rules of the Anglican or any other church are worthy of representing the Church or acting for it is not only an intolerable presumption, it is a practical denial of just what the apostle affirms.

Observe how the truth of the essential priesthood of all believers is brought out in the beginnings of Christianity. Look first at John the Baptist. The forerunner, without the authority of any organization and without any so-called organization, preaches the Gospel of repentance to the people, and with such manifest acceptance that thousands flock to him; and when a commission hastens from Jerusalem to the Jordan, where John is baptizing, no question regarding his authority is asked, only who he is. Christ came without formal announcement or indorsement. "In the life he lives," says Fairbairn, "he never does a priestly act or gives himself a priestly name, never assumes toward man the attitude, or manifests the temper, or falls into the tone of the conventional priest. More, he founds his society and does not name any man he calls to office within it priest, appoints no man to do any priestly act, institutes no official priesthood, simply and purely makes them apostles, or disciples, or prophets, men who learned and men who taught, or who learned that they might teach."* The Twelve were chosen from the commonest employments, and were in no way connected with the official class among their countrymen. So far as their own Church was concerned they held no official position. A prominent representative of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Dean Hodges, of the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, says: "One of the most remarkable things about these men is that they were all laymen. There was not a priest among them. It is true that they had received the highest and holiest of all ordinations; they had been commissioned to their office by Christ himself. Nevertheless it is plain enough that they had no valid orders, as theologians in those days measured validity."† This is true. Neither the theolo-

* *Religion in History and in Modern Life*, p. 147.
† *The Heresy of Cain*, p. 161.

gians of their times nor the ecclesiastical sticklers for the proprieties in our day would say that these men received anything like what we call ordination. They were chosen one at a time by the Master himself, taught by him, and then sent out to preach his Gospel with no credentials save their love for him and manifest presence of the Holy Spirit. What is true of the apostles is emphatically true of the rest of the disciples. There is no evidence that the Seventy received any other ordination save the commission of Jesus to preach and teach and heal. Having freely received they were as freely to give. In no respect were they separated from the body of the disciples, each of whom possessed the same relationship to the Lord as the rest and upon each of whom was laid the same responsibility for the proclamation of the truth.

The selection of Matthias by the eleven to take the place of Judas was in no way a formal affair. There was no ordination, no conferring of official honors. As McGiffert says: "It was not as an office bearer that Matthias was appointed, but as a witness to the resurrection." So far as we can see, the apostles "held no position in the church at Jerusalem, and were not intrusted with its government or empowered to exercise authority within it."* The very name "apostles" seems to be used in the Acts as synonymous with traveling missionaries, many of whom appear not to have held any "official position in any church or churches."

St. Paul, like his fellow-apostles, was a layman when he was called to the work of evangelization, and by no vote or laying on of hands was he "ordained" to the ministry. He thanks God that he was not chosen by men, but by the Lord himself. He writes to the Corinthians asking them if he is not an apostle and free. And for proof he points not to any ordination of men, but to his work. "If to others," he writes, "I am not an apostle, yet, at least, I am to you: for the seal of mine apostleship are ye in the Lord." It is true that both Paul and Barnabas went to their work among the Gentiles with the approval of the church at Antioch. But the laying

* *The Apostolic Age*, p. 45.

on of hands of which much is made in certain quarters, can hardly be regarded as having any official or sacerdotal significance. It was in harmony with a Jewish custom, and, according to Hatch, was used "chiefly in the appointment of members of the local courts, in admitting a scholar to study, and in giving him authority to teach—in the ceremony, in other words, which corresponds to our graduation. It was in use in the Christian Church not only in the admission to office, but also in the admission of an ordinary member and in the readmission of a penitent."*

In harmony with this view of the apostolic Church are the evidences, coming more and more to light, concerning the administration of the sacraments and the origin of orders in the ministry. There is now little doubt among scholars that in the beginning any Christian might baptize or administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Says Hatch: "The Christian was, in a sense which has often since been rather a satire than a metaphor, a 'member of Christ,' a king and priest unto God. The whole body of Christians was upon a level: 'all ye are brethren.' The distinctions which St. Paul makes between Christians are based not upon office, but upon varieties of spiritual power." Even as late as the beginning of the third century, when the Church was beginning to turn away from the apostolic order and life, Tertullian, whom Milman calls the "father of Latin Christianity," allows that where there is an emergency a layman may celebrate the Eucharist as well as a bishop. He is reported as saying that "where three Christians are, though they be laymen, there is a church."†

The terms "deacon," "elder," "bishop," by which different orders of the ministry are designated, were originally names of certain officers in the local churches, and were all laymen. The word "deacon" means servant, and was applied originally to one of the seven men who were selected to relieve the apostles of the care of the Christian widows in the Church.

* *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, p. 135.
† Quoted from Hatch.

They were at first only a committee to administer charity. The bishop's origin is as humble as that of the deacon. While we may not say just what were his duties in the earliest times it seems quite clear, from the important studies of Hatch and others, that he was hardly a minister as we use the term in our day. He seems to have been the treasurer of the funds for the needy, and as these were very numerous, and as the bishop in early, as in later, times usually magnified his office, he gradually attained a position which was not originally contemplated. The elder, or presbyter, appears to be a survival of a Jewish official whose duties in the synagogue were "partly administrative and partly disciplinary." With worship and teaching he seems to have had "no direct concern." When a synagogue became Christian these officials simply went on with their work, gradually changing with the changed views and needs of the times. But at first all of these—deacons, bishops, and presbyters (or elders)—were officers of the local churches, laymen, not ministers, as the term is now used. Of course everyone was a minister in the sense in which Jesus used the word; for to be a Christian meant, as a matter of course, to be a minister of the grace of God to those in need. But there were many ways of ministering and many kinds of ministers. Paul expressed the common consciousness of the Church of his day when he said: "Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. . . . For to one is given through the Spirit the word of wisdom; and to another the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit. . . . And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, divers kinds of tongues."

Gradually, through the influence of the social conditions in which the Church was placed and the weakness of human nature, the unconventionality and freedom, as well as the fervor, of the early days passed away. Instead of a brotherhood of believers bound together by their love of a common Lord there grew up an ecclesiasticism modeled after the empire and influenced by Jewish and heathen beliefs and modes of wor-

ship. A division was made between the layman and the minister, and the ministry itself was divided into grades. Only certain ones were allowed to preach, and these through indolence or ignorance, or both, allowed the preaching of the Gospel practically to become a lost art. It is said that "there was a time when the bishops of Rome were not known to preach for five hundred years together." The whole blessed life of religion was smothered under a gloomy monasticism and a pitiless ecclesiasticism. The darkest hour was about the beginning of the twelfth century. But it is just then, when the cause of truth is under eclipse and threatened with extinction, that the blessed sun begins to shine again. In the city of Lyons, in France, there lived a rich and respected citizen named Peter Waldo. One day in the year 1173, while conversing with some friends, one of them suddenly fell dead at Waldo's feet. That was the means of starting into life a movement which, beginning with Waldo himself, a layman, has continued to the present day through that noble sect the Waldenses,* the first genuine Protestants in history, whose earliest confession and pledge was: "We must obey God rather than man; we must follow Christ in his poverty and reclaim a crooked generation by the free preaching of the Gospel."

It was barely a half century later when a movement similar to Waldo's was begun in Italy. Says Dr. Hodges: "The whole world lay frozen in the depths of polar winter. There seemed to be no life in religion. It was next to impossible to find any company of the priests who were obedient unto the faith. And then the sun began to shine in the heart of St. Francis of Assisi, and out of his heart into the hearts of hundreds of earnest men, laymen like himself; and they went everywhere, carrying sunshine, preaching the Gospel of the resurrection. And spring came." At first there were but seven who rallied around this humble layman to whose inmost heart the Spirit had spoken, saying, "Go, preach."

* I do not enter into the vexed question whether Waldo was, strictly speaking, the founder of the Waldenses.

But in perfect confidence he sent these seven lay brothers forth with this commission: "Go and preach, two and two. Preach peace and patience; tend the wounded; relieve the distressed; reclaim the erring; bless them which persecute you, and pray for them which despitefully use you." As if to anticipate discouragement he said to the few who at first gathered around him, "I hear in my ears the sounds of the languages of all the people who will come to us—French, Spaniards, Germans, English. The Lord will make us a great people, even to the end of earth." How literally his prophecy was fulfilled the great Franciscan Order bears witness. Indeed we are told that the success of the Dominicans was due to their adoption of the spirit and methods of Francis. When St. Francis died it is said that the marks of the wounds of Christ were found on his body; a story which, if not literally true, testifies to the universal belief of the men of his day in his uncompromising loyalty to, and complete spiritual identification with, Christ.

These were but prophecies of the great Reformation which finally swept over Christendom. We think of that mighty movement in connection with the monk of Wittenberg, Martin Luther, who dared to face alone the opposition of pope and Church. But we should not forget those others, men without any consecration save the call of Christ, like Waldo and Francis, who made Luther possible. We in America naturally turn with fondest recollection to that movement which sent the pilgrims to our shores to found a republic in which every man should have the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We know that that movement was religious to the core. Puritanism was the natural and inevitable result of a nation brought into living contact with the Holy Scriptures. It was, at bottom, the expression of the rights of the individual, which meant the rights of the layman, against intolerance on the throne or at the altar. The two greatest leaders of Puritan England were John Milton and Oliver Cromwell, both laymen. "Milton," writes Green, "is not only the highest, but the completest type of

Puritanism." Of Cromwell it is enough to say that he saved England to Protestant Christianity.

In the eighteenth century, when England had lapsed into a semipaganism and was threatened with the terrors of the French Revolution, God raised up John Wesley to turn the hearts of the people back to himself. It is no detraction from the reputation of the Wesleys and of Whitefield, however, to say that Methodism originally was, and in some parts remains to this day, essentially a lay movement. Great as was the work of the ordained ministry, it was the laity, set on fire with holy zeal, that carried the Gospel to the masses of Englishmen. And it is significant that John Wesley was led to see God's hand in the work of lay preaching through the influence of his mother, herself a true preacher of the Gospel, who wrote concerning Thomas Maxfield, whom Wesley was about to silence: "Take care what you do. Thomas Maxfield is as truly called of God to preach the Gospel as ever you were." Susannah Wesley's advice was heeded, and lay preaching became a recognized branch of Church work. It undoubtedly made Methodism the great power it is to-day in England. Of American Methodism it is perhaps enough to say that it was founded by three lay preachers: Philip Embury, Robert Strawbridge, and Captain Webb. If in these latter days something of the old power is lacking the cause may be looked for, not so much in the so-called worldliness of the Church, which is rather an effect than a cause, as in the decline of the class meeting—that splendid lay training school of the Church—and in lay preaching. Dr. Abel Stevens in his supplementary volume, closing his incomparable *History of American Methodism,* uses these striking words: "The future of Methodism will depend greatly on its fidelity to the primitive idea of the 'priesthood of the people,' an idea which has been pervasive in its structure, from basis to summit, and all-powerful in its history."

The limits of this paper will not permit any extended reference to the influence of the laity in the modern Church, but it is worthy of note, and very significant, that the two

greatest preachers of our day, Charles H. Spurgeon and Dwight L. Moody, never consented to be ordained by human hands. And these two men, Spurgeon and Moody, represent not only an increasing multitude but a world-wide movement toward the democracy of Christ. The Sunday school, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the Christian brotherhoods and sisterhoods, the missionary, philanthropic, and reform societies, and the organizations of young people, are all evidences of the rising tide of lay interest and activity which in the not distant future must sweep away all artificial distinctions between clergy and laity. The stars in their courses fought against Sisera, and destiny, which is only another name for God in history, is fighting against privilege in the Church. Long ago the State renounced the doctrine of the divine right of kings; is it not time for the Church to renounce the divine right of the clergy? God's men like God's truth should be accepted on their merits without labels of any kind.

In emphasizing the "priesthood of the people" there is no leveling down, but a leveling up. In showing the sandy foundation on which the mediæval Church so laboriously built up its elaborate system of a sacrificing priesthood far removed from the laity, which modern Romanism and its imitators under a Protestant name so passionately strive to maintain, there is no purpose to depreciate God's true ministers. They cannot be depreciated, for their claim to respect and acceptance proceeds from no laying on of human hands, nor is it based on any presumed right to open the doors of the kingdom of heaven to men, but from a divine call as revealed in their tone of authority joined to their humility, love, and zeal. That such men should be recognized as possessed of a gift for ministering, and set apart by the Church as worthy of confidence, is admitted at once; but the call of God and the fruits of service are the real tests after all. To such a ministry the whole body of God's people is called. Never was such a ministry needed more than now. Never were the opportunities for Christlike service so numerous. In Chris-

tian lands there are millions growing up right around our church doors—many of them the sons and daughters of church members—who never cross the threshold of a church from one end of the year to another. The rich, many of them, are growing up as purely pagan as were the Romans under the Cæsars. The working classes, as a rule, will have nothing to do with the Church. Our cities, admitted to be the plague spots of the earth, are working out their destinies without any particular concern for the Church or for Christianity. What is the remedy? There is but one. It is the same means which organized the Church and sent it forward on its glorious career; the same which made the Waldenses, the Franciscans, the Puritans, the early Methodists, such mighty forces in the world of their day. The laity must arise. Without waiting for star preachers or hesitating leaders among the stated ministry the laity should magnify its call and privilege. "The Lord never meant that there should be only one minister in a parish. He meant that there should be as many ministers as there are Christian men and women. . . . Peter is not enough, nor even John and Peter. The Church needs Peter and James, and John and Andrew, Philip and Thomas, Bartholomew and Matthew, James the son of Alpheus, and Simon the zealot, and Judas the brother of James." "But now in Christ Jesus ye that once were far off are made nigh by the blood of Christ. For he is our peace, who made both one, and brake down the middle wall of partition. . . . So then ye are no more strangers and sojourners, but ye are fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God, being built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief corner stone."

W. Ellis McLennan

ART. VIII.—ISAIAH'S PREDICTION OF THE MOTHER OF MESSIAH.

"The Lord himself will give you a sign: Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanu-el. . . . For before the child shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good, the land whose two kings thou abhorrest shall be forsaken."—Isa. vii, 14, 16.*

THERE are Christian scholars who disbelieve and absolutely deny that this utterance of Isaiah had any intended reference to Mary the mother of Jesus. In the front rank of these is Dr. A. F. Kirkpatrick, regius professor of Hebrew and fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, England. He says:

It is clear that the words, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel," were not, in their original intention, a prediction of the miraculous birth of Jesus. Isaiah is giving to Ahaz the sign for which, with a spurious assumption of piety, he had refused to ask. Now, an event which was not to happen for more than seven centuries could not form a sign to Ahaz. . . . But the child Immanuel is not connected with the house of David, nor is he spoken of as a deliverer. . . . The Hebrew word rendered *virgin* in the Authorized Version would be more accurately rendered *damsel*. It means a young woman of marriageable age, and it is not the word which would naturally be used for *virgin*, if that was the point which it was desired to emphasize. The definite article (*the* damsel) may refer to a particular young woman, or it may be generic, and refer to any young woman who was about to become a mother.

The professor continues:

The true explanation appears to be that the sign consists not in any miraculous circumstance connected with the birth of the child, but in that which is to happen before the child comes to years of discretion. Some mother known to Ahaz and the prophet, but of whom we know nothing, who was soon to give birth to a child, or possibly any woman who was about to become a mother, is told that she may call her son Immanuel. . . . If this view is correct the sign given Ahaz is not a direct prophecy of the Messiah and the miraculous manner of his birth any more than the second psalm is a direct prophecy of the resurrection. . . . The words describing his [Messiah's] birth receive a profound depth of meaning, which they admit, though they do not necessarily convey it. The name itself becomes the expression of the mysterious fact of the incarnation.

* All quotations of Scripture in this article are taken from the new American Standard Version of 1901.

Jesus is the true Immanuel, and in him the prophet's utterance is fulfilled.*

The foregoing paragraphs contain some propositions which are at least unique, if not indeed contradictory. The conclusion which the professor seems to have reached is that the text which stands at the head of this article was not intended at all by Isaiah to convey the idea of the virginity of the mother of Messiah, neither was it "a prediction of the miraculous birth of Jesus," although "in him the prophet's utterance is fulfilled"! There is then no relation whatever between the prediction and the realization; it is merely a happy coincidence! The Incarnation, which is without a parallel among the marvelous events of human history, was suffered by Jehovah to come and go without such prophetic announcement; while at the same time he employed his prophet to foretell that "some mother [of insignificant standing] . . . of whom we know nothing, who was soon to give birth to a child, . . . is told that she may call her son Immanuel"! Nevertheless, "the name [Immanuel] itself becomes the expression of the mysterious fact of the Incarnation," although that thought had never entered the prophet's mind! "Jesus is the true Immanuel, and in him the prophet's utterance is fulfilled," albeit another and unknown Immanuel was prophetically meant! It is not said whether Mary the mother of Jesus was truly a virgin, but that Isaiah did not refer to her in his prediction. The coincidence of the unknown one conjectured and Mary "blessed among women" was purely accidental and without significance. Such was "the sign" which the writer assumes was given to King Ahaz! It is nowhere remarked that Ahaz ever saw the sign claimed. Referring to the Incarnation, he adds: "Now, an event which was not to happen for more than seven centuries could not form a sign to Ahaz." "The fatal objection to this theory is that the event which did not happen could not possibly form a sign to Ahaz" (pp. 188, 189). Certainly not. But why assume that the sign given was the one intended exclusively for the king, when he had

* *Doctrine of the Prophets*, lect. vi, pp. 188-191.

already, "with a spurious assumption of piety," absolutely refused to ask, receive, and so far recognize any sign of his own choosing—a special privilege proffered by Jehovah? In the absence of all evidence in support of it, why assume that the Lord and his prophet, in the face of such refusal, persisted in forcing upon King Ahaz exclusively a sign of Jehovah's own choosing, when the circumstances of the case impliedly, and the context itself expressly, declare that the sign was addressed distinctly to another party? To make this obvious and exclusive, we have but to appeal to the historical setting of this particular prediction. At this point of time when Isaiah was prophesying Ahaz was king of the kingdom of Judah, Pekah was king of the kingdom of Israel, and Rezin king of Syria, whose capital was Damascus. A confederation of hostility was organized between the kings of Israel and Syria to invade the realm of Judah, depose King Ahaz, and enthrone one Tabeal, who was unknown to fame. Ahaz, having received information of this conspiracy and its purpose, was filled with consternation. Whereupon Jehovah directs Isaiah to go and find Ahaz, and encourage him with comforting words, assuring him that the design of the confederated kings against him should "not stand, neither should it come to pass;" but that "within threescore and five years shall Ephraim [that is, the kingdom of Israel] be broken to pieces, so that it shall not be a people." Nevertheless, this promise was conditioned on the king's faith, "If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established." Now, "Ask a sign of Jehovah thy God; ask it either in the depth, or in the height above. But Ahaz said: I will not ask, neither will I tempt Jehovah"! Thereupon the prophet speaks no longer personally to Ahaz, but turning away addresses the king's subjects in the plural number: "Hear ye now, O house of David! The Lord himself will give you a sign: Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanu-el. . . . But before the child shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good,* the land whose two kings thou

* See Matt. iv, 8-10, and xxvi, 53, 54.

abhorrest shall be forsaken" (Isa. vii, 1-16). The divine protection against invasion failed through the sin of disbelief. "If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established." Ahaz was not established on his throne; but, seeking alliance with Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, became a vassal to that power and surrendered to him the treasures of the temple, and of his palace. His kingdom was invaded, and his subjects suffered terribly about B. C. 735. Pekah slew one hundred and twenty thousand in one day, carrying away two hundred thousand women and children as captives, together with great spoils of war. Rezin captured Elath, a fortressed city of Judah, a port on the Red Sea, and carried away its inhabitants to Damascus. And in the end the two confederated kings, Pekah and Rezin, were slain (2 Kings xv, 30; xvi, 9). But the house of David, the remnant of the kingdom of Judah, was preserved and perpetuated according to the covenant of God (2 Kings vii, 12-16, 24-26; 2 Chron. xxi, 7; Psa. lxxxix, 31-37; cxxxii, 11-14; 2 Kings viii, 19). Evidently, then, the sign did not fail, but was seen by the lineage of David, if his house was perpetuated down the centuries until the Incarnation should become an accomplished fact. And historically this is exactly what took place.

According to this author, "the end" of the northern kingdom of Israel occurred B. C. 722-705, consequent upon the siege and conquest of Sargon, the famous Assyrian king; and the fall of the southern kingdom of Judah took place about B. C. 601?-581, including the three deportations of its population, effected first by Nebuchadnezzar, and afterward by Pharaoh-hophra, when Jerusalem was captured and sacked. The fall of Damascus is dated B. C. 732. Thus the wickedness of Judah was visited with due punishment, but "the house of David" was providentially preserved. Then was verified the prophetic declaration, "Before the child shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good, the land whose two kings thou abhorrest shall be forsaken" (Isa. vii, 16). If by "the child" Messiah is meant there intervened a period of more than seven centuries. And Professor Kirk-

patrick concedes that "such a perspective combination of events lying far apart is not, indeed, contrary to the general conditions of prophecy." Thus the historical requirements of this prediction were met long before the birth of Christ.

Now, it cannot with any probability or propriety be entertained that the prophetic writer, moved by the Spirit in the exigency of those times, occupied himself in making conspicuous to the house of David some inconspicuous woman known only conjecturally "to Ahaz and the prophet, but of whom we know nothing," especially one whom this author from the Hebrew term designates "a damsel," or "any woman who was about to become a mother," while yet the prophet has absolutely neglected even to mention the birth of the Messiah, the God-Man whose advent among men was the burden of all the older Scriptures! The hypothesis is out of harmony, and in strange contrast with the divine procedure, illustrated in the conduct of "Gabriel sent from God unto a city of Galilee named Nazareth, to a virgin betrothed to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary"—that Mary respecting whom the angel said, "Blessed among women"! "Thou hast found favor with God" (Luke i, 26, 27, 30, 42). Moreover, the predictive text which stands at the head of this article is not an isolated passage. In the Hebrew scroll of the prophet there were no chapters and verses to indicate separation of continuous thoughts, as we have in the English Bible. Accordingly, we find the prophet a little later on resumes the thread of discourse, and gives powerful confirmation to a different interpretation from that just indicated, as he engages in the expansion of his Messianic thought. His reference to the notable name Immanuel is explained by the content of the passage introducing a reason by the use of the word "for:" "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder; his name shall be called Wonderful, Counselor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and of peace there shall be no end; upon the throne of David and upon his kingdom to establish

it, and to uphold it with justice and righteousness, from henceforth even forever. The zeal of Jehovah of hosts will perform this" (Isa. ix, 6, 7).

It is now a pertinent question, what other being of the human race than the Christ of God was ever entitled to, or was recognized as, Immanuel, "God with us," and who else was ever found worthy of the several appellations just cited? All these titles denoting dignity of character, place in the universe, and sovereignty in its government are cognized in the teachings of the New Testament, and have commanded the consensus of the most advanced civilizations for twenty centuries. They are the ascriptions of divine power and authority appropriated to the only One entitled to be called Immanu-el, of whom it was again said: "He shall be called great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High; and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David; and he shall reign over the house of Jacob forever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end" (Luke i, 32, 33). "But when the fullness of time came, God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, that he might redeem them that were under the law" (Gal. iv, 4, 5). "He was the word, . . . and the word was God;" and "the word became flesh, and dwelt among us; and we beheld his glory" (John i, 1, 14); that is, "Christ as concerning the flesh, who is over all, God blessed forever" (Rom. ix, 5).

Obviously, no interpretation of this prediction can be accepted which does not satisfy the following conditions:

1. The interpretation must yield a sense worthy of the character of Jehovah himself, who proposed the event as a special "sign."

2. The Child to be born, whose birth was to constitute the sign, must be historically a royal descendant from the family of David.

3. The "house of David," expressly addressed, must be found perpetuated down through the centuries until the sign could be observed.

4. The occasion for the sign must be an extraordinary

event calling for, and becomingly introduced and emphasized by, the word "Behold."

5. The event predicted must be cognizable as an occurrence outside the common order of nature, to have any significance as a sign.

6. The Personage to be born must prove himself to be without a peer, as entitling him alone to be called Immanu-el—"God with us."

7. The historical conditions must be verified: "Before the child shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good" the land of the confederated kings would be "forsaken."

That David's house was to be perpetuated until Messiah came was a matter of covenant with God, which was kept constantly in sight: "Jehovah hath sworn unto David in truth; he will not turn from it: out of the fruit of his body will I set upon thy throne. If thy children will keep my covenant and my testimonies that I shall teach them, their children also shall sit upon thy throne for evermore" (Psa. cxxxii, 11, 12). "In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, for sin and for uncleanness" (Zech. xiii, 1).

To make this evidential through the centuries until the Messianic anticipations were realized, a *catena* of proofs was organized by means of both public and private documents thoroughly historical, which involved the economy of the whole Jewish nation. It consisted of a vast system of registrations thus described by Rabbi Frey:

> Our nation was not only divided into several tribes, but each tribe into several families; and as every tribe had a distinct inheritance which obliged them to keep genealogies of their several families, so as to make them more exact and punctual in this, no alienation of inheritance was allowed for longer than the year of jubilee, which returned every fifty years. Then every one that could clear his pedigree, and make out his right of the inheritance from his ancestors, was to be reinstated in the possession of it; this made it to every one's interest to preserve his genealogy. But that which more contributed to this, and made them still more careful in this matter, was the law of lineal retreats; that is, upon failure in the family the next in kin was to be heir at law, which obliged every tribe not only

to take care of their own genealogy, but those also of the several families of their kindred; so that by knowing the several degrees of proximity of blood they might be able at any time, upon the failure of an heir, to make out their title to the inheritance of their fathers. . . . This was the method to be taken throughout their generations; so that when the fullness of time should come for the promised Messiah to appear he might by this means easily and certainly prove his lineal descent from the seed of Abraham, from the tribe of Judah, and from the family of David.*

Matthew, himself a Hebrew by birth, wrote his gospel first in the Hebrew language for the special persuasion and edification of Hebrew converts to Christianity, and so constructed a powerful argument by his genealogical presentation of Jesus, exhibiting his royal descent from Abraham, through the house of David. Upon the other hand, Luke, being a Gentile and writing his gospel in the Greek, in the interests and common language of the Gentile nations at that time, neglects the special argument of the Jews for Christ's kingly descent, tracing instead his natural ancestry back from our Lord himself through David and Abraham unto Adam, to indicate that Jesus was the Saviour not of the Jews only, but of the whole human race. Now, it was the custom of the Jews not to register the names of their women without special reasons, but instead representatively the names of males who were the nearest of kin. Hence Mary's own name does not occur in the genealogy of either gospel, but the name of Joseph, who was her cousin. However, elsewhere Luke, carefully referring to the annunciation, relates the mission of Gabriel to "a city named Nazareth, to a virgin betrothed to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary" (i, 26, 27). Africanus is the authority for the statement that Herod the Great's ostensible object in proposing to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem was to please the Jews, his subjects—beginning the work about B. C. 20—but that his real motive was to secure and destroy the documentary evidence of his own ignoble origin as an Idumæan. But others maintain that his purpose was to de-

* *Messiahship of Jesus*, pp. 124, 125. Josephus claims from public registries the genealogy of the Jewish priesthood, to which he belonged, for two thousand years. See his *Life*, § 1; *Apion*, book i, § 7; and Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, vol. i, p. 882.

stroy the official genealogies respecting the Messianic Son of David and heir apparent to the Jewish throne. If so, Herod overlooked the thousands of genealogies preserved in private families which were not under his control. This view seems to be supported by the consternation of King Herod, and "all Jerusalem with him," when the wise men of the East made of him the startling inquiry, "Where is he that is born King of the Jews? for we . . . are come to worship him." This would account for the attempt of this royal wretch to assassinate his supposed rival in the person of Jesus at Bethlehem (Matt. ii). However, it is quite probable that the Jewish official genealogies were preserved until the destruction of the temple on the Jewish Sabbath in August, A. D. 70, by the Romans under Titus, when the Hebrew nationality was destroyed. Then all authentic proofs of the existence of "the house of David," as such, ceased to be. No living Jew to-day can trace back his lineage to any known family or tribe whatever. So much as to the perpetuity of David's family until the "sign" given centuries before by Jehovah was realized in the Christly Incarnation. That our Lord was identified and recognized as the descendant of David is fully verified not only by the writers of the gospels themselves, but by many other contemporaries of Jesus, as in the prophecy of Zechariah (Luke i, 67-69), in the call of blind Bartimæus (Mark x, 47), in the shouts of welcome when Jesus was on the royal march to Jerusalem (Matt. xxi, 9-11), as proclaimed by Peter at the Pentecost (Acts ii, 29-36), in the Epistle to the Hebrews (i, 6, 13), and, above all, as distinctly claimed by himself (Matt. xxii, 41-45; Mark xii, 35-37; Luke xx, 41-44).

On more than one occasion the Jews rejected Christ's Messianic claims on the presumption that they did know that Joseph was his father. They said: "Is not this Joseph's son?" (Luke iv, 22; Matt. xiii, 55, 56.) "The Jews therefore murmured concerning him, . . . [and] said: Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? How then doth he now say, I came down out of heaven?" (John vi, 42.) "Some therefore of them of Jerusalem said: Is not

this [man] whom ye seek to kill? And lo, he speaketh openly and they say nothing to him. Can it be that the rulers know that this is the Christ? Howbeit, we know this man whence he is; but when Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is" (John vii, 25-27).

Dr. Kirkpatrick seems to deny the legitimacy of the conclusion that virginity inheres in the Hebrew term הָעַלְמָה, *ha-almah,* employed by Isaiah in the special passage under consideration. He says: "The Hebrew word rendered *virgin* in the Authorized Version would be more accurately rendered *damsel* . . . It is not the word which would naturally be used for *virgin,* if that was the point which it was desired to emphasize." Yet he applies the term which he renders *damsel* "to any young woman about to become a mother"! This certainly looks like fitting the definition to a preconceived theory. Nevertheless, we find this Hebrew word uniformly rendered "virgin," or its equivalent, not only in the so-called "Authorized Version" of three hundred years ago, but it is so rendered in the English Version of 1881, and now again in the Standard American Version of 1901. It must be admitted that the consensus of these several distinct bodies of selected scholars raises at least a powerful presumption against the professor's claim of inaccuracy in the translation in this text. But he has failed to give us the alternative Hebrew term which would better express virginity. It is not here denied that the several words "damsel," "maid," or "maiden" would convey the true sense, especially where the idea of virgin is considered latent and implied; for where else than by damsel, maid, or maiden is that quality of womanhood to be looked for as being possessed? Certainly not in the case of "any young woman about to become a mother"!

Fürst defines עַלְמָה, *almah,* as "a marriageable, ripe maiden," in which virginity is assumed; and בְּתוּלָה, *bethulah,* as "a newly married woman" (*Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon*). On the other hand, Gesenius defines *bethulah* as expressing "unspotted virginity," and denies the same meaning to *almah.* In proof of *bethulah* meaning "unspotted virginity" he refers

to Joel i, 8: "Lament like a virgin girded with sackcloth for the husband of her youth"! But in what possible sense or with what propriety of language can "unspotted virginity" be represented by a married woman mourning "for the husband of her youth"? But, both Fürst and Gesenius being pronounced rationalists, they cannot consent to any etymology looking to the supernatural, such as is implied in the conception of the Virgin Mary and the miraculous birth of Jesus. Dr. Tregelles in his edition of Gesenius's *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon* makes this significant note:

> The object in view in seeking to undermine the opinion which would assign the significance of virgin to this word [עַלְמָה, *almah*] is clearly to raise a discrepancy between Isa. vii, 14, and Matt. i, 23. *Almah* in the Punic language signified virgin, as Gesenius rightly states in *Thesaurus*, on the authority of Jerome. The absolute authority of the New Testament is, however, quite sufficient to settle the question to the Christian.

Dr. Adam Clarke makes this critical remark:

> "Virgin" is a very improper version here. The original is בְּתוּלָה *bethulah*, which signifies a young woman or bride; not a virgin, the proper Hebrew word for which is עַלְמָה, *almah*.

Dr. B. Davidson, the Hebrew lexicographer of distinction, defines *almah* as meaning "a maiden, virgin, marriageable but not married." And Dr. Strong in his *Hebrew Lexicon* gives to *almah* the meaning of "damsel, maid, virgin."

The word עַלְמָה, or עַלָמוֹת, in its singular or plural form, occurs seven times in the Hebrew Bible, with the following rendering: 1. It shall come to pass that when the virgin [*ha-almah*] cometh to draw water (Gen. xxiv, 43). 2. And the maid [*ha-almah*] went and called the child's mother (Exod. ii, 8). 3. Among them were damsels [עַלָמוֹת] . . . playing with timbrels (Psa. lxviii, 36). 4. Therefore do the virgins [*ha-almoth*] love thee (Cant. i, 3). 5. There are threescore queens, . . . and virgins [*almoth*] without number (Cant. vi, 8). 6. And the way of a man with a maid [*almah*] (Prov. xxx, 19). 7. Behold, a [the] virgin [הָעַלְמָה, *ha-almah*] shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel (Isa. vii, 14).

The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, known as "the LXX," because of the seventy or more rabbis chosen to translate the sacred books of the Hebrews into the Greek language for the Alexandrian Library, about B. C. 283, reads thus: Διατοῦτο δώσει Κύριος ἀυτὸς ὑμῖν σημεῖον· ἰδοὺ, ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται, καὶ τέξεται υἱὸν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ (Isa. vii, 14). Translation: "Therefore will the Lord himself give you a sign: Behold, the virgin shall conceive in [her] womb, and give birth to a son; and thou shalt call his name Emmanuel."

The LXX rabbis were certainly competent Hebraists, and could have had no prejudice against Christ nearly three centuries before he was born; and both our Lord and his apostles quoted quite commonly from the Septuagint. It is to be specially noticed that those translators have rendered the Hebrew word עלמה, *almah*, by the Greek word παρθένος, both meaning "a virgin." Evidently their meaning was identical. Referring to the virginity of Mary and the miraculous birth of Jesus, Matthew furnishes a powerful confirmation of the Septuagint in its *usus* of the term παρθένος in recording this citation from Isaiah's prediction as now fully realized: "Now all this is come to pass, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet,* saying, Behold, the virgin (ἡ παρθένος) shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Immanuel" (Greek, Emmanuel) (Matt. i, 22, 23). It must be admitted that Matthew's language is unequivocal and absolute in applying the prophet's prediction to Mary as "the wedded maid and virgin mother" of Jesus; reconfirmed by Luke in his account of the annunciation to her by the angel Gabriel, in which the identical term (παρθένος) is again employed twice in one verse—"a virgin betrothed, . . . and the virgin's name was Mary" (i, 27). In her reply to Gabriel the fact of her virginity is both assumed and asserted: "Mary said unto the angel: How shall this be, seeing I know not a man" (i, 34).

If now we appeal to the authority of Greek lexicography,

* Several manuscripts and versions as well as fathers name Isaiah as the prophet.

as to the meaning of παρθένος, as expressing virginity, the evidence will be found to be unequivocal and absolute: Grove defines the term as meaning "a person unacquainted with the other sex, a virgin, maid;" and "παρθενεύω, to lead a virgin life, keep maidenhood." Greenleaf defines it "a person in a virgin state, . . . one who is chaste and pure." Bagster, "virgin, maid," with chastity as the inherent idea. Robinson, "a virgin, a maiden." Liddell and Scott render παρθένος "a maid, maiden, virgin;" and παρθενεῖα as "maidenhood, virginity." Thayer defines παρθένος as "a virgin," and as proof-texts refers to Matt. i, 23, and Isa. vii, 14. Yonge, in his *English-Greek Lexicon,* furnishes an extensive family of words of cognate origin and meaning with παρθένος illustrative of its correct definition, and cites classic writers in vindication.* It is no objection to be urged against the virginal conception of Mary and the miraculous birth of Jesus that they were unnatural and cannot be explained. Of course not; for if explanation were possible they would not be miraculous. But the conception was neither natural nor unnatural, but supernatural. Can the rationalist give a satisfactory explanation of the origin and organization of the powers of the human mind-life which occur in every natural birth, the genesis and unification of the several faculties in the mental structure of a human being—how the intellect which thinks, the conscience which feels, and the will which determines are brought into unity and continuity in life and its activities? The man who rejects the miraculous because he cannot understand it must first prove his right, *a priori,* for such reasoning. That very inability to explain the mysteries involved in the natural birth clearly bars him from traversing the mysteries of the supernatural birth. And to reject a given fact without the suffi-

* For example, ἡ παρθένος, a virgin; παρθενία, virginity (Pindar, Æschylus, Plato); παρθενογενής-ές, virgin-born (Eccl.); παρθενεύομαι, to be a virgin (Æschylus, Euripides, Herodotus); παρθενεύω, to bring up as a virgin (Euripides); παρθένιος-ον, belonging to a virgin (Homer, Hesiod, Euripides); παρθένια, τά, signs of virginity (LXX), παρθενωπός-όν, looking like a virgin (Euripides); τριπάρθενος, consisting of three virgins (Sophocles, Euripides); ἀπάρθενος, not a virgin; ψευδοπάρθενος, a pretended virgin, κ. τ. λ.

cient reason is the merest dogmatism, and irrational. As the writer sees it, Dr. Kirkpatrick's fundamental error in interpreting Isaiah's prediction is in the assumption that Jehovah was addressing the sign to King Ahaz after he had rejected it, instead of the house of David. Since the text itself is explicit on this point, his conclusion is unsatisfactory and unscientific. If Isa. vii, 14, be read along with ix, 6, 7, as the continuation and mere expansion of the prediction, the idea and name Immanuel are explained in complete harmony with John's doctrine of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. Moreover, the perpetuity of the house of David until after the birth of the Saviour; the progressive character of the Messianic revelations; the etymological authorities of the Hebrew word for "virgin;" the incontestable etymology of the Greek representative of the term in the Septuagint and in the New Testament; the direct quotation from Isaiah made by Matthew, who distinctly affirms the complete fulfillment of the prediction in Mary's conception and the birth of Jesus; the repeated designation of her virginity in the narration of Luke; and her own clear assumption and assertion of her chaste character in making answer to Gabriel—these facts taken together satisfy all the etymological and historical requirements of Isaiah's prophecy and its complete realization in Christ.

S. L. Bowman.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

THOREAU'S philosophy of life was to make the most of the time and the place in which he was; he did not spoil them by discontented longings for elsewheres and hereafters. Concord and the moment were sufficient and adapted habitat for him. These words are in his Journal under date of November 1, 1858:

> There is no more tempting novelty than this new November. No going to Europe or to another world is to be named with it. Give me the old familiar walk, post office and all, with this ever-new self, with this infinite expectation and faith which does not know when it is beaten. We'll go nutting once more. We'll pluck the nut of the world and crack it in the winter evenings. Theaters and all other sight-seeing are puppet shows in comparison. I will take another walk to the cliff, another row on the river, another skate on the meadow, be out in the first snow, and associate with the winter birds. Here I am at home. In the bare and bleached crust of the earth I recognize my friend. . . . This morrow that is ever knocking with irresistible force at our door, there is no such guest as that. I will stay at home and receive company. I want nothing new. If I can have but a tithe of the old secured to me I will spurn all wealth besides. Think of the consummate folly of attempting to go away from *here*. . . . How many things can you go away from? They see the comet from the northwest coast just as plainly as we do, and the same stars through its tail. Take the shortest way round and stay at home. A man dwells in his native valley like a corolla in its calyx, like an acorn in its cup. Here, of course, is all that you love, all that you expect, all that you are. Here is your bride-elect, as close to you as she can be got. Here is all the best and the worst you can imagine. What more do you want? Foolish people think that what they imagine and desire is somewhere else. But that stuff is not made in any factory but their own.

THE twenty-first Protestant Episcopal Church Congress met in Albany, N. Y., last month. It is a voluntary body not for legislation but for consideration, not for authoritative decision or utterance but for free discussion by bishops and ministers upon subjects of living interest to the Protestant Episcopal Communion, and it may be to the larger Church of Christ. Bishop Doane, of Albany, one of the strongest men in that Communion, in his address welcoming the Congress to the city of his residence, included the following statement, suggestive of much which is worth being pondered thoughtfully:

In speaking for the Congress, I want to say to Albany that we are gathered to-day in the open field of religious opinions about all serious and important questions concerning the life of men and of society. Behind these, in their venerable, invariable, and invulnerable unchangeableness, stand the fundamental verities of the Catholic faith. Anchored to these, and protected by them, we are free to wander at our will through that great mass of questions which lie, in a way, outside of and apart from the articles of the faith, which nevertheless color and control the thoughts of our minds and the utterances of our lips. They are a common ground which proves upon how many essential things men of divergent views and feelings can absolutely agree.

The subjects we are to discuss here show the other side; namely, how widely men can differ about many things, agreeing all the while in their belief. The catholicity of the Church, as we understand it, consists in its unity of faith and its variety of opinions. Its comprehensiveness must hold fast to all that is primitive and true, but it must also lay hold upon what the progress of thought and study finds to be more modern and true. It has room for, and it invites to, all honest, earnest, serious, thorough research and investigation. It welcomes every new light that may bring out the many-sidedness of truth; and here in these discussions and debates, no votes being taken and no decisions reached, the only one resolution, which we pass unanimously at the start, is to hear everybody else's side, and to state, each one, his own side, in the "charity which rejoiceth in the truth."

Professor Gustav Baur's views regarding the assured historicity of the story of the Exodus were thus referred to by Georg Ebers, the noted Egyptologist:

He, who was one of the most famous, clear-sighted, and learned students of the Bible and its exegesis of our day, was familiar with all the critical labors which have been published in the field of Old Testament criticism. He took up a determined attitude against the views of a younger school who endeavor to expunge the Exodus of the Israelites from the page of history, and regard it as a later outcome of the myth-forming spirit of the people; a theory which he, like myself, regarded as untenable. One of his sentences on this question dwells in my memory, to this effect: "If the events recorded in the Second Book of Moses really never occurred —a hypothesis I entirely reject—then no historical event entailing equally important results need be regarded as having happened anywhere or at any time. The story of the Exodus has, for thousands of years, survived in the minds of numberless human beings as a real event, and has influenced them as such. It is no less certainly a part of history than the French Revolution and its results."

Concerning the identification of certain localities mentioned in the Scripture narratives, Ebers wrote:

Monsieur Naville's excavations have left no doubts as to the position of Pithom, or Succoth. They brought to light the fortified Storehouse of Pithom mentioned in the Bible; and as the narrative tells us that the Israelites rested there, and then set forth again, it must be assumed that they conquered the garrison of the building and took possession of the contents of the vast granaries which may be seen at this day.

In my work *Egypten und die Bucher Mose's*, published so long ago as

1868, I pointed out that the Etham of the Bible was identical with the Egyptian Khetam, that is to say, the line of fortresses which protected the Isthmus of Suez from the attacks of the peoples of the East; and my opinion has long since been generally accepted. It fully explains the return of the wanderers from Etham.

The Mount of the Lawgiving is, to me, the majestic peak of Serbal, not the Sinai of the monks; my reasons are fully explained in my work *Durch Gosen nach Sinai.* I have also endeavored, in the same book, to show that the resting place called in the Bible Dophkah is identical with the abandoned mines now called Wadi Maghâra.

THE ONE AND THE MANY IN THE CHURCH.

In recent studies of early tribal life by Professor F. B. Gummere suggestive light is thrown upon some religious customs among the tribes of ancient Israel, especially as to the relative prominence of the communal element. It is observed that in worship and song, in celebration and lamentation, in supplication and, some surmise, even in the genesis and formulation of prophecies, there is an interplay between the voice of the one and the voice of the many, like solo and chorus; between the leader's emotion and the throbbing of the great common heart, one in tone and intensity but alternating in expression; antiphonal call and answer sounding between the individual spirit and the communal mind. Though the voice of a leader is heard in tribal rites, he usually seems only the expressive mouthpiece of the whole people; he utters their sentiment, and his utterance is approved by choiring responses from the tribe or the band.

In the triumph-songs of the Old Testament the parts taken by the leader on one hand and the prompting and participating multitude on the other are sometimes obvious. In that jubilant shouting song after the hosts of Pharaoh were whelmed in the sea Moses appears as leader of the men of Israel; Miriam with her timbrel leads the women who follow her with timbrels and with dances; and Miriam and the choiring women seem to answer each other back and forth with the words, "Sing ye to the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath He thrown into the sea." When David returned from the slaughter of the Philistines and the women came out of all the cities of Israel singing and dancing to meet the victors with joy and with instruments of music, there seems to have been a pair of choruses, one chorus singing, "Saul hath slain his thousands," while the other chorus adds responsively, "And David his tens of

thousands." In the triumph-song of Deborah and Barak not only, it would seem, is a double summons sounded, "Awake, awake, Deborah: awake, awake, utter a song!" and "Arise, Barak, and lead thy captivity captive!" but also, in response to the songs of Deborah and Barak, the whole people appear to come in with a refrain, "For the divisions of Reuben there were great thoughts of heart," "For the divisions of Reuben there were great searchings of heart." In the account given of David's dancing before the ark when he as leader, with all the House of Israel, brought up the ark of the Lord with shouting and with the sound of the trumpet, it seems probable that his personal song detached itself at times from the shouting of the marching multitude and was again swallowed up in the refluence of the general shout. In some of the Hebrew Psalms the participation of the hosts of the people is made evident by the recurrence of a refrain which is manifestly the voice of the great congregation.

In the funeral customs of the tribes a leader vocalizes the common grief, and a communal chorus alternates with the leading voice. In Jer. ix, 17-20, "the mourning women" are the professional leaders of lamentation over the dead, seen among the Hebrews of the Old Testament as also later among many other peoples, like the *Præfica* among the Romans and the keener at an Irish funeral. The voice of the chief mourner leads, and the multitude of mourners break in with a repeat or with cadenced interjections—such interjections as Jeremiah refers to in his denunciation of Jehoiakim: "They shall not lament for him, saying, 'Ah, my brother.' They shall not lament for him, saying, 'Ah, Lord,' or 'Ah, his glory.'" In David's lament over Saul and Jonathan there is sign of a communal refrain in the exclamation, "How are the mighty fallen!" as of responsive listeners sympathetically joining in the lamentation,—grief epidemic in the crowd echoing the cry of the chief mourner.

Some scholars have surmised that the form of Hebrew prophecy was at first choral, then was divided into strophe and antistrophe, and yielded in time to the impassioned solo of the rapt prophet himself. It is suggested that behind noble individuals like Amos who hold the conspicuous place and play the chief part on the prophetic stage can be dimly seen in the background the throng, the tribe, the band, uttering communal convictions concerning the future with choral shoutings, warnings,

and exhortations. It is conjectured that the process by which written prophecies gradually took form may have been this: First, the shouting rhythmic utterance of purely communal impressions, persuasions, and inspired beliefs, the real chorus rolling out the burden of a people's heart; then, one man taking the leadership, voicing the conviction divinely borne in upon the soul of the tribe, and giving more definite and firm expression to the people's faith; and last, the chanted warning, blessing, declaration, or imprecation of the inspired seer and leader of an inspired people written down to be preserved as recorded prophecy which seasons and ages are to remember, observe, and fulfill.

The work-songs, which have been the customary accompaniment of associated labor among many peoples of ancient and modern times, show the same alternation of the voice of all with the voice of one. After such fashion Basuto women, grinding at the mill, move in unison, "singing an air which blends with the cadenced clinking of the rings upon their arms." On land and water concerted labor is often cheered by concert of more or less musical sounds. From immemorial ages, among the Maoris of New Zealand as among the Alaskan Indians, voices have kept tune with oars that kept time. Sailors of all ages and nations, in hoisting or reefing sails, in weighing anchor, in loading or unloading cargo, have accompanied concert of labor with concert of voices. Negro roustabouts on Southern rivers use rude chants, with solo and refrain, a leader improvising or reciting and the rest joining in with choral repetition or response. Allusions scattered through the Bible indicate that the Hebrews of the Old Testament sang thus at their work in house and tent and field. So in labor and worship, in song and lamentation, as well as in various movements of peace and war, whether ancient or modern, whether in Canaan or in Scotland, the individual and the communal elements blend and dialogue, the multitude prompts and supports the chieftain whom it is ready to obey, the many saying to the one, "Call, and the tribe responds!" "Lead, and the clan will follow!" Yet, along with loyalty to leadership, the tribe, the clan, the band seem to rule.

In the mediæval Church individual thought, emotion, volition were subordinated to the will, emotion, thought of the whole body, even more than was the case in the tribes of Israel, and more than in the communal system of mediæval life by which

the Church of that period was shaped. In monastic life the interests of the individual were as nothing to the interests of the whole body; each unit must surrender his independence to the welfare and will of the religious community to which he belonged. But within the Church forces were at work for the liberation of the human unit. The studious monk in his cell was cultivating his own spiritual life, and writing hymns which were the lyric cry of the single soul, the flight of the one to the One, voicing the profound thought and piercing emotion of the solitary worshiper. Even the confessional dealing with the individual was helping to magnify the importance of the personal life and to emphasize the prerogatives, responsibility, and value of the single soul and the significance of its experiences. And through many subsequent periods the liberty-loving spirit of true Christianity filed protest after protest against the undue dominance of communal conditions, against the tyranny of the organization over the individual in Church or State; gave a certificate of value to the lowliest and loneliest life; lifted the chattel serf into a soul; prosecuted the long fight against traditions of race and tyranny of guild. The Crusades set individualism forward, and the Renaissance, working through the Italian commonwealths, helped the human unit into a new career.

In various respects the modern democratic spirit has so magnified individualism and so encouraged the assertion of personal opinion and rights that the danger in our day is that the forces of cohesion may be nullified by centrifugal tendencies, the power of unity be lost and dissolution ensue. There may be excessive protestantism in the Church.

In worship and the religious life, especially, the value and necessity of the communal need to be emphasized. The notion that the individual Christian is at liberty to shirk his due share of responsibility for the welfare and efficiency of the Church, not only of the local organization but of the Church universal, must be combated, as must also the notion that individual church members are free to forsake the assembling of themselves together. In the cultivation of the religious life nothing can be substituted for the assemblies of the saints. Probably the hymns dearest to most people are those which have the personal note of "Jesus, Lover of my soul;" but there is need not to disuse the

congregational hymns with their communal meaning to foster the sense of fellowship and make real "the communion of saints," as do those hymns of the Scottish Kirk which have the graves of the martyrs behind them and rejoice solemnly in that great, inspiring, common inheritance. Along with such hymns, the occasional use of a ritual service, with a general confession and common supplications, helps to promote consenting congregational worship and to deepen the feeling of unity with the Church which is the Body of Christ, thus melting all souls by sympathy into blessed unison. The investigator whose researches have inspired this writing says that religious emotion is still the strongest communal element in modern life, particularly when it takes on the form and the power of a great revival. There is no such irresistible influence for melting barriers, reconciling antagonisms, fusing the Church into unity, marshaling it for all kinds of work, and filling the community with harmony and peace, with sweetness and light.

Bright Thy presence when it breaketh,
Lord, on some rapt soul apart;
Sweet Thy Spirit when it speaketh
Peace unto some lonely heart;
Blest the raptures
From unaided lips that start.
But more bright Thy presence dwelleth
In a waiting, burning throng;
Yet more sweet the rapture swelleth
Of a many-voiced song;
More divinely
Glows each soul glad souls among.

CHRIST'S RECIPE FOR HAPPINESS.

Do all men seek happiness? It is often so asserted. But the answer must be, No, if the word is taken in its higher signification. All men appreciate the pleasurable emotions which result from the gratification of desire or appetite; everybody likes to be comfortable, free from that which pains or annoys; enjoyment of one sort or another is universally coveted; but happiness in its true meaning, rational satisfaction, moral and intellectual well-being, the possession of abiding good, is quite another matter. Most people, so far from seeking it, fail to understand in what it

consists, and are wholly astray as to its ingredients. The only happiness worthy of the name the majority of mankind do not care for, as is shown by their persistent refusal to use the means through which alone it is attained.

This, to our thinking, more than anything else, reveals the reason for the absence of the masses from church. The query is a common one, Why are the multitudes estranged from the ministry of the Gospel? Some try to find the cause in the alleged fact that the church has departed from Christ, no longer expresses his mind and spirit. They declare very positively that if the church would return to Christ the people would flock to it. They affirm that Christ was popular, was heard gladly by the masses, and if we were like him we would have similar experience, would have crowds in attendance on our services. Such a statement can hardly emanate from anything but gross ignorance of the Gospel history. Christ was popular, in a sense, for a short period, and for that only; but his popularity, so far as it arose from his teaching, was mainly due to a mistake on the part of the hearers. But it was not the teaching chiefly, it was the miracles that drew them to him in such crowds during the second year of his ministry. Curiosity and selfishness brought them around him. They thronged him to get their sick healed. Who would not? They came to him also in part because he fed them. "Ye seek me," said he, "because ye ate of the loaves and were filled. Labor not for the meat which perisheth, but for the meat which abideth unto eternal life." But after he had talked to them plainly in that line a while they forsook him. They had a restless desire to be freed from the Roman government; they longed for a Messiah who would enable them to throw off that galling yoke. And in Christ's earlier ministry they cherished the hope that he would prove to be that sort of a leader. They followed him largely because of that mistake, because of these false hopes. When they found out that he would do nothing of the kind, that he would not interfere in their temporal affairs, that he did not propose to give them free lunches every day, that he would not head an insurrection or cater at all to their national pride, they would have nothing more to do with him. A

very few waited for the kingdom of God and hung on his lips because of his spiritual teachings. They were few then, and they are few now, comparatively so. The more faithfully Christ's message is proclaimed, and the more clearly it is understood, Christ's message of righteousness, self-denial, purity, and persecution—for that is an essential part of it, though not the whole—the more clearly it becomes evident that such truth cannot be popular. We are convinced that the Church of to-day—the evangelical Protestant Church in general, and the Methodist Church in particular—whatever its shortcomings in practice, in its theory, its public doctrinal teachings, fairly represents the Master. It proclaims the truth as it is in Jesus. Those who turn from it do so, as a rule, because they want to hear something different, and it is easier for them to find fault with somebody else than it is to do right themselves.

What is Christ's recipe for happiness which the world in general passes by as something in which it has little interest? He set it plainly in the forefront of his ministry, so that all who cared to know need not be in doubt. It stands at the very beginning of that inaugural address, that platform of the new dispensation, that authoritative constitution of the commonwealth of heaven, which we call the Sermon on the Mount. It is a condensed epitome of the Master's main message, strikes the keynote of all the teaching that should follow, sets forth in brief form the most characteristic special ideas which the Saviour came to promulgate. The true way of happiness was never elsewhere so clearly, compactly exhibited. Eight points are presented, eight Beatitudes, which may conveniently be divided into three classes, furnishing a triple recipe for genuine bliss.

The first class includes the first two Beatitudes, those which specify the qualities necessary for entrance on the Christian life, which is the truly happy life. Jesus said, "Happy are the poor in spirit, happy are the sorrowful, or the mourning ones." These are substantially the same. The idea is that to enter the kingdom we must come to God as beggars, putting away all thought of any spiritual wealth in ourselves, sorrowing for our sins. We must take the mendicant's place before him, feeling that in God's

sight we are utterly bankrupt. True penitence and humbleness of heart, according to Christ, are at the foundation of all things in the religious life. In us dwelleth no good thing; we must plead for mercy. This, of course, was a blow in the face of every proud, self-satisfied worldling. To such people Christ said, and still says, "You have no part or lot with me; you do not belong to my kingdom; into it there is but one door, the sorrowful confession of spiritual poverty." The first thing, then, in the process of becoming truly happy and blessed is to begin just where Jesus marks out the path, by throwing away all dependence on our own good works, starting in with all the humbleness of a little child, self-distrustful, self-abandoning.

The second thing is pointed out conjointly in the third, fifth, and seventh of the Beatitudes; for these include certain qualities which may be summed up under the general head of *Love.* Christ said, "Happy are the meek or gentle, happy are the merciful, happy are the peaceable or peacemakers." Gentleness, peacefulness, mercy, all pertain to one and the same side of character, the feminine or receptive side. Mildness, meekness, quietness, lowliness, humbleness of heart, docility, placidity, plasticity of spirit, long-suffering in regard to injuries, giving up one's own rights, stepping aside and letting others have our place, taking affronts quietly, laying away our dignity and authority, being kindly and compassionate, forgiving and forbearing, cultivating smiles and soft speeches, being pleasant and agreeable, amiable, mild-tempered, benignant, silent and submissive, benevolent, tender, sympathetic, considerate, contented, trustful, patient, affectionate—all this, fairly included for substance of doctrine in the three Beatitudes mentioned, is certainly a very important part of a beautiful and happy life. We have come to see it so in some measure at present. But it was an entirely new thing when Jesus first proclaimed it, utterly foreign to the conception of the Jewish and heathen world. The haughty Roman, the proud Greek, the disdainful, revengeful Jew were not at all prepared to welcome a Gospel that set in its forefront praises for such womanish and childish virtues as these. They might do well enough for slaves, was their thought, for those

who could not help themselves, but for men of spirit, valor, and importance—no, no. It was like a dash of cold water on the fiery impure enthusiasms which were eager for a kingdom of gross delights and vulgar conquests. But Jesus abated no whit of his program because of the popular objections to it. What he told them at the start he kept reiterating: My followers must give soft answers to rough questions, must bear other people's burdens for them, must not be quarrelsome or censorious or vindictive or given to disturbance. All this, it is plain, signifies the dominance of love; for he who is full of love will be gentle and merciful and peaceful. Over against the selfishness of the world, as a prerequisite for happiness, the Saviour preached unselfishness or love. Where the world says, Look out for number one, Christianity says, Look out for the weaker brother. The world says, Crowns for the victor, no matter if he succeeded by trampling ruthlessly under foot all his competitors, taking the hardest possible advantage of their necessities, grinding them to pieces. We say, if we represent Christ, Crowns for the defeated, for those who have failed of earthly recognition, if in failing they have kept their integrity, done their best, and labored for the highest welfare of the multitude. "By love serve one another" is the rule of the Gospel, the way to happiness and heaven. It takes a very long time to convince men that this is so, that giving up is better than holding fast, that letting go is superior to grasping tight, that making others happy is the sure way to personal blessedness. But Christ saw it and said it in one way or another, over and over again. It was his great commandment, one main element, at least, in the prescription which he administered for turning the world's sorrow into joy.

But there is a third thing. Love is not all. If we were to cultivate that alone we should have a very one-sided, defective life, not complete or symmetrical or in the highest degree useful and happy. Jesus well knew this, and provided for it by giving us a third class of the Beatitudes, the remaining three, namely, the fourth, sixth, and eighth. "Happy are those who are hungry for the Right, happy are the pure in heart, happy are the persecuted in the cause of Right." Here we have a quite different

element introduced. We are no longer dealing with the feminine or passive side of character; we are brought face to face with a much more active, positive, masculine set of qualities. They are summed up, not in the word Love, but in the word *Righteousness.* The happy man, the Christian, is to devote himself not simply to being on good terms with those around him, but also to being right and straight and pure from evil. And clearly the final commendation given to the persecuted belongs in this same class, for it is precisely because people are sticklers for that which is right and pure that they are persecuted. They would never be persecuted simply for being amiable and gentle and peaceable; never in the world would they get into trouble if they stuck to these things. It is the positive people, they who are aggressive and uncompromising, and determined above all things to be right at any cost, or to have things right no matter what the people around them say or think—it is these always who run against other folks' preferences and are made to smart for it. He who is pure in heart will be persecuted, for he will be obliged to bear his testimony against all impurity; his very life will thus testify, and his lips will do the same. He who is hungry and thirsty for the right will be persecuted because the many who prefer the wrong will of necessity be rebuked by his attitude and they will resent that rebuke. Jesus was under no sort of misconception as to the readiness of the world to receive his precepts and welcome his followers. He was sending them out as lambs in the midst of wolves. He was well aware of what awaited them, and he wished them to be aware. People would abuse them, illtreat them, say everything bad about them, call them vile names. Of course. He told them that was the way with all prophets, that is, all who stood for God and righteousness, all who declared the holy will of the heavenly Father, all who were ahead of their times and refused to bow before the popular idols, all who had a mission and a message that they did not shrink from delivering. All Christians, Christ plainly implies, are expected to be prophets in this sense, and all prophets will suffer persecution, that is their heritage, the stamp and seal of their office, without which they cannot be considered genuine.

Who, then, are the happy ones, the true members of Christ's kingdom, those who shall inherit all things, who shall see God, and have a right to be called his sons? Who? Jesus says, those who, having entered by the door of true penitence and poverty of spirit, have devoted themselves not simply to love, in the ordinary acceptation of that term, that is, not simply to being gentle and meek and merciful, and getting along smoothly with their neighbors, but besides doing this have also developed an intense appreciation for heart purity and an intense resolve that, whatever others may do or be, they at least will be right with God, right as near as they can, according to his absolute standard, not according to the ever-shifting and very imperfect standards of men; and this they determine to do and be in spite of the suffering which they clearly see will come to them in that course, being sure that the happiness which will thus attend them will far outweigh any ill that may be done them.

These are the blessed. And these are the conditions on which blessedness befalls the sons of men. Jesus bids them give up only that which harms them, their miserable pride, to start with, the pride which is ever a curse and makes peace impossible, filling us with unrest and wretchedness. Put it away, says Jesus; consent to be little, to be a child who has no property whatever except what is given him; rate yourself and your possessions in the spiritual realm at zero, then I can do something for you, then I will make you rich. I will fill your heart with *love,* he says, the true riches, then you on your part will work that out and practice on it and develop it in daily life by being gentle and full of kindness to all about you. He says also, keep feeling your need for a greater and greater approach to the *right,* keep that high standard before you and do your best every day to get nearer to it, do not discount it, do not compromise with the world even if you get killed. Let people say everything bad of you, untruly and on my account; it will really hurt you not a bit, but only make you more happy and increase your reward.

They who believe what Jesus says about the matter, and really prize the style of happiness of which he speaks, will follow the directions given and grasp the bliss portrayed.

THE ARENA.

THE RESURRECTION—A REJOINDER.

SINCE the very able answer to my critic, Dr. Goodwin, on the resurrection of the *dead*, by Dr. S. L. Bowman in the September-October number of the *Review*, it is almost a matter of supererogation to answer Dr. Goodwin any farther; and yet an additional word will not be out of place. Leaving, therefore, the answer to the resurrection of the body to the one so ably given by Dr. Bowman, we wish to call attention to the fact that if Dr. Goodwin is correct when he says, "Very few who repeat the Apostles' Creed" (he says Lord's Prayer, but we understand he meant Apostles' Creed) "believe in the resurrection of the natural body," then *many* of the ministry and laity who are students of Bible doctrine are in error, and misunderstand the *Creed*. Many of these ministers and laymen have either written or spoken to me, saying my article was both rational and scriptural. The definite article used in the Creed naturally leads us to believe in the resurrection of a body *now* having *existence* and *form*. Nothing else can be understood from the term "*the* body." I am sorry to notice, also, that the doctor classifies "the great majority of ministers and laymen" with Universalists, and virtually affirms the Universalist doctrine of the resurrection to be the true one. Erasmus Manford, who is the author of a *Statement of Universalist Faith*, and himself a prominent Universalist, says: "That which is raised to immortality and eternal life never goes into the grave, never goes into the dust. The body does, *but that will not be raised*. It is the immortal spirit, made in the image of God, that *is raised when the body dies*. And its leaving this dead body, and entering on its immortal career, *is what is called the resurrection to incorruption and glory*." Either *this* statement or the Apostles' *Creed* is wrong.

Our critic is also troubled about the maimed and deformed. Paul takes care of this difficulty. He says, "We shall not *all* sleep." Evidently, then, when the great event comes to pass *some* will be living in the natural body. And very likely there will be maimed and deformed persons among them; but while the apostle says, "We shall not all sleep," he also says, "We *shall all be changed*." Then, if they who are alive at that time shall not take precedence over them that are in their graves, the natural conclusion is that when this great change *is* effected it will be upon the *substantial* bodies of both the *living* and the *resurrected* dead. And, whatever this *change* may signify or effect, it will doubtless be that culminating act of "redeeming grace" whereby *every* body will be put in order for its glorified existence.

WILLIAM W. LANCE.

Fostoria, O.

THE IDEA OF REDEMPTION IN HISTORY.

In the article by Dr. Plantz under this caption in the *Methodist Review* for May there are some statements after which we would put an interrogation point. He says that religion has been developed largely through two impulses, namely, the sense of fear and the desire for perfection. No doubt these impulses have had much to do with the evolution of religion, but neither of them constitutes the true germ of religion, nor do both of them together, and the nature of the germ it is which is always the most potent factor in the development of any living thing. The newly hatched chick has the sense of fear when it scuds from the hawk to the mother's wing, but the chick has not the germ of religion. So a being might have a passion for perfection and never develop the idea of Deity.

Again, he says that at first redemption is sought from external evils, but later from evils of the heart. We know that this is a common assertion in a certain school of students of religions, but the confidence is in inverse ratio to the evidence. Certainly in the earliest religious documents of the most ancient peoples, as the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Aryans, we find the desire expressed for redemption from evils of the heart. What Dr. Plantz says may be true of savages, but that the *lowest* phases are the *first* we dispute. That primitive man was a savage is an assertion often made but never proved. Of course we can make of the first man what we like, if we reject the scriptural account, since he is not here to defend himself and has not left us his photograph. However, it is doubtful whether even in savage bosoms the sense of guilt is ever really absent or the desire for redemption from inward evils utterly unfelt. Man at his lowest has still a moral nature as he has a rational one, and these cannot fail to react upon even the superstitions that darken the mind. A man need not necessarily have attained the clear thought of personality before he has the sense of guilt. The case of the child proves this. So with the "child-man."

As to the Hebrews, the author says that in the earliest stages of their religion the old Semitic ideas of sacrifices probably prevailed, and it is doubtful if at first an element of expiation was at all present. The truth of that statement depends on the view we take of the historical character of Abraham and his relation to the religion of Israel. If he was a real personage and the founder of Israel and its faith, if he did live in Ur of the Chaldees, then there he probably had come into contact with the idea of expiation, for it certainly existed there before his time. We know that radical critics dismiss Abraham as a mythical figure, but will he stay dismissed?

But our most serious objections are to the remarks upon the Christian doctrine of redemption. Dr. Plantz says very justly that the sense of condemnation and inner antagonism is to be eradicated and peace secured "not by the suppression of the will, which empties life of its content, but by a change of the will, a change such as will

lift it above its selfish tendencies and unify it with the higher law, the will of God. Christianity provides for this doctrine of redemption." True. Its salvation is ethical. But when the author goes on to add, "not by a forensic redemption wrought without, but a vital redemption within; not a transaction to satisfy the demands of an external law, but a process by which man is enabled to keep the law," we believe that in his desire for antithesis he has obscured a part of the truth. Why not try to see both sides of the shield? May not the redemption process be *both* without and within, both vital and vicarious, vital because vicarious? Might not the atonement be at once a means both of satisfying the holiness of God and the demands it would make upon the guilty sinner, and also of renewing the human will and changing the center of its attachment? Will Dr. Plantz kindly give his authority for the assertion, "Christ conceived his life not so much an offering to God as an offering to men"? Then how did he conceive his *death?* We are told in the epistle that through the Eternal Spirit he offered himself without spot to *God.* When Dr. Plantz says that Christ's "vocation demanded sacrifice and by sacrifice men were to receive remission of sins," that "the redemptive power was in the ideal which Christ in his own person embodied," does he mean that this was all? If so, in what does Christ's passion and death differ from that of any other martyr to truth and righteousness? Christ's vocation just as truly demanded resistance to temptation, endurance of hunger, thirst, weariness, poverty, but does Jesus ever say that he was tempted, endured hunger, etc., for the remission of sins? Did the death of Christ have an absolutely unique relation to the redemption of our race or not? If so, what? Or did he die just as other martyrs die and nothing more? The author thinks that the truth needs to be earnestly proclaimed to the people that "Redemption is not a miraculous process external to us, which was accomplished long ago once for all by the sacrificial death of a God in our favor, but it is a moral event happening within the soul which always repeats itself; the self-sacrifice of the will of God is obedience, love, and patience." But why not both an event without and an event within? Why not the former as a condition of the latter? Without doubt there have been in the history of the Church grotesque, artificial, erroneous theories of the atonement, but let us be careful how we try to escape them by adopting a superficial moral influence theory which does justice neither to Scripture nor to the profound demands of the ethical nature of God and man. We shall not reach the deepest truth in this matter by slurring over with the words "Pharisaical training" Paul's great utterances "relating to propitiatory penalty, vicarious expiation, racial solidarity," but by trying to get at the deepest truth in them. When we are through with Paul we have also Peter and John to reckon with, who had no "Pharisaical training" but were taught in the school of the Master.

White Water, Wis. GEORGE H. TREVER.

THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD.

We hear much about the application of the "scientific method" to things religious and sacred. While we welcome the better interpretation which it gives when rightly used, we must guard lest it obscure our view of the divine factor. A scientific knowledge of the Red Sea has removed the crude notion, once prevalent, that the children of Israel walked between perpendicular walls of water; but the learned expositor must so guard his explanation that it may not cause the simplest reader to lose sight, in the least degree, of the fact that this was a miraculous occurrence.

In the May-June number of the *Review* President Plantz gives us many interesting points on the development of the idea of sacrifice in the history of worship, in an article on "The Idea of Redemption in History." But when he says that the earliest stages of Jewish sacrifice were characterized by the "gift" idea as distinguished from the later developments he might cause his reader to forget the fact that the Jewish sacrifice was a direct gift and revelation from God, and not a development in the same sense as that of other nations. The sacrifices before Moses were either unique instances, as the offering of Isaac, or were in accordance with an idea of sacrifice brought from the heathen religion out of which Abraham had been called, and the Jewish rite proper was in no wise developed from them. The Jewish sacrifice is revealed by general command in Exod. xx, 24, and its method described and meaning explained later in the institution of the tabernacle worship. We must be cautious in regard to anything that draws our attention in the slightest from the divine. In the same number of the *Review*, in an article entitled "The Interpretation of the Spiritual Life," Dr. McFarland assigns the "scientific temper" as the cause of the "decline of interest in religious testimony." That is, the scientific method has weakened the force of personal testimony as a religious factor. But does the scientific method weaken the force of testimony in a civil court? Indeed, the value of all testimony depends on the strictest application of a scientific treatment. Is it not possible that there has been a misuse of the scientific method in regard to religious testimony? If the "spread of the scientific temper and habit" has become so general as to produce the result claimed in this article, may we not hope that its conscientious use by those who are "scientific" will result in giving to the testimony of a class meeting, by distinction between fact and opinion, through the more general spread of the scientific habit, the same validity as is secured in court by legal requirement? Let us expect an early return of the class meeting with old-time fervor and up-to-date exactness and efficiency.

Ada, O. R. H. Schoonover.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THE HOMILETIC VALUE OF THE LATE REVISION OF THE SCRIPTURES.—Rom. v, 2–11.

The new renderings of special words are a source of confusion to the interpreter, when these renderings are apparently quite different from those to which the ear and eye have been accustomed. The passage under consideration involves certain variations in the renderings of words which call for notice and have a certain homiletical value. The passage is the enlargement of the great conclusion of the apostle in the first verse. The Revised Version reads: "Being therefore justified by faith, let us have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." The apostle then proceeds to set forth some of the results or consequences of that peace, and enlarges on the blessedness which comes to the Christian.

A comparison of the Revised Version with the version of 1611 shows some points needing special notice.

First. We have in the Revised Version "our access" instead of simply "access." In the third verse we have "our tribulations" instead of "tribulations." In the fourth verse there is quite a remarkable change, "probation" instead of "experience," so that the verse reads, "and patience, probation; and probation, hope," instead of "patience, experience; and experience, hope." In the sixth verse we find "For while we were yet weak" for "when we were yet without strength;" and in the eleventh verse "reconciliation" instead of "atonement," so that it reads, "through whom we have now received the reconciliation," instead of "by whom we have now received the atonement." The force of these changes will appear in the more careful analysis of the passage. It is a question of exegetical analysis whether the point involved in these verses is the Christian's hope, or whether it is the Christian's exultation or rejoicing. It is said, "and let us rejoice in hope of the glory of God." It seems, therefore, that a suitable value of the passage for homiletical purposes will be found by regarding the apostle as discussing the question of the Christian's exultation or rejoicing which grows out of the peace which comes to us through faith in Jesus Christ.

The first point of rejoicing which the apostle mentions is rejoicing in "hope of the glory of God." The new version makes it an exhortation: "let us rejoice in hope of the glory of God." It is difficult to put in concrete form the meaning of the word "glory" in the New Testament. It appears at different times, and each time with some shade of meaning growing out of the peculiar setting in which the word is found. The glory of God includes for the Christian the favor of God; hence some have translated it by "approval." It means, however, all those excellences and favors which God com-

municates to his own people, whether in the form of forgiveness of sin, or of rich Christian experiences, or of the final salvation which he has provided for them. It seems to be the manifested splendor of God, which he communicates to his people, so far as they are able to receive it. All that God has for man, whether in Christian experience, or in external blessing, or in future reward, becomes a part of the Christian's hope, and in this hope of the divine glory he exults.

Second. The apostle proceeds, however, to set forth another matter which constitutes a ground of the Christian's rejoicing. It is found in the third verse: "let us also rejoice in our tribulations." This to the reader would be an unexpected turn of thought. To expect to rejoice in the future of the blessings that are to come would seem to be perfectly natural, and an expectation in which all Christians could readily join; but the apostle speaks here of glorying in tribulations. Tribulations are the sufferings, both internal and external, through which men are called to pass. This was especially pertinent to the time when Paul wrote, and above all to the Roman Christians. They had been terribly persecuted by their enemies, and to speak of their tribulations as being the basis of their glorying seemed on the surface to be absurd, if not incompatible with the hopes and aspirations which had been announced to the Christians. And, as if recognizing that this needed explanation, the apostle proceeds to tell the effect which tribulation wisely improved would naturally work out. He seems to regard tribulations as having sequences in the Christian life, which follow it just as effect follows cause, and as though that which they were seeking, the great hope of the hereafter, was to be wrought out through tribulation; hence he says, "tribulation worketh patience," that is, patient endurance. The word in the original means simply remaining under. But it is far from being a mere passive word. Endurance has both an active and a passive sense. In the passive sense it means the suffering which comes upon us, in the performance of our duty or at the hands of our enemies. In an active sense it means a continuance in the faith, and a devotion to Christ which accomplishes its purpose in the midst of all obstacles with which they have to contend. It is not, therefore, an ignominious endurance of suffering, a mere uncomplaining submission to the ills of life, that the apostle speaks of, but a submission that shows itself in action in working for the Master, as well as in suffering for him. Hence the exhortation says, "tribulation worketh," that is, worketh out for people, "patience."

At the next point, however, the change in the translation appears. The earlier version reads, "patience, experience," but the revised says, "patience, probation." The word "probation" is derived from a word which simply means proving or testing; but it also has a secondary meaning, approving that which has been tested. Our revisers confine it to the former sense, that is, patience works testing. It tests the soul of the believer; the endurance of affliction is the

proving of his character to him and to others. If he yields to the sufferings of life, if he is readily overcome by temptations and trials and difficulties, it is a proof that the sufferings have not wrought their perfect work. These sufferings work out, therefore, not only patience, but through patience they work a proving of the character of the Christian, whether his faith is vigorous and strong or whether it is weak. Patience, then, is a testing of our relation to God and to man, and is to men a proof that they are real Christians. It follows, therefore, that proving, or approving, produces hope; that is, the Christian who has been born into the new life, and who has tested this new life by endurance under great trials and provocations, is filled with hope, because of divine strength which was imparted to him and which enables him to endure temptations and assures him that his Christian life will go on to the end; and so he says probation produces hope.

The third element of Christian exaltation is found in the eleventh verse: "and not only so, but we also rejoice in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have now received the reconciliation." He glories also in the reconciliation with God. This carries back at once to the first verse: "Being therefore justified by faith, let us have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." The word "reconciliation" brings out the sense of the passage to the modern reader better than the word "atonement" in our ordinary version. The apostle does not stop to tell us whether this reconciliation is viewed on the manward or on the Godward side, that is, whether it is viewed with reference to the reconciliation of God with man or the reconciliation of man with God. There is room here for an extended theological discussion which it is not the purpose of this paper to consider. It is not uncommon for persons to say that we cannot regard God as angry with the creatures that he has made. His nature is absolute love, and inasmuch as his nature is love he cannot be angry in the sense in which it is understood by man. We readily yield the fact that there is no vengeance in the thought of God; but that holiness must stand opposed to sin, and that some mode was necessary in the divine economy by which men who had alienated themselves from God by sin might be restored to him, is evident from the whole tenor of Scripture. The act of Christ in dying for the sins of the whole world was not to turn aside the vengeance of God from man merely, but it was to vindicate God's love for man in the expression of his antagonism to sin by the gift of his only Son to die for sinners; hence, the passage says, "we also rejoice in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have now received the reconciliation." The Lord Jesus Christ is the one through whom this reconciliation takes place, and the apostle does not stop at this point to discuss the nature of the atonement or the effect of the death of Christ either upon God or man, but rather speaks of the result which is secured by Jesus Christ, his life and death and resurrection, namely, the reconciliation of God

and man. This thought is well expressed by Canon Liddon, in his remarks on the eleventh verse. His language is: "The reconciliation is accomplished not only in the hearts of men, but in the heart of God. Men are reconciled with God in Christ in such a sense that God, seeing them in union with his beloved and perfect Son, abandons his just wrath which their sins have kindled and admits them to his favor and blessing. This, the constant faith of the Church, was scientifically worked out by St. Anselm of Canterbury in his *Cur Deus homo*, Christ died 'to reconcile his Father to us' (Art. ii). Abelard taught 'a submissive and merely psychological reconciliation,' which Socinianism and some modern scholars have insisted on to the exclusion of the truth of an objective atonement. They plead that the eternal and unchanging love of God needs no reconciliation or atonement; that only man is needed to be reconciled, because man does not believe in the love of God; that Christ's death is a token of God's enduring love, addressed to the hearts of men in order to awaken confidence in the divine love and lead men back to the Father. Now, although it is true that the essential nature of God is unchangeable love, yet the living action of God's love in the human world has been hindered and impeded by sin. In reality God's love is identical with his righteousness."

The homiletical discussion of this passage would lead, of course, naturally to the treatment of the theological import of the death of Christ as found in other parts of this epistle and in other writings of the great apostle. It is sufficient for our purpose to say that this passage opens in its broad outline a beautiful view of the Christian's exultation. In other parts of the Scripture the same word which is translated "rejoice" is rendered "boast." It is not the boastfulness of one who rejoices in his own prowess and achievements, but it is the exultation of one who has been bought with a price, having been purchased by the precious blood of Christ, who has exercised faith in Jesus Christ, and through faith has become united to him, and in this blessed union has attained peace with God, and out of this blessed peace grows the exultation which is indicated in this chapter.

As stated in the beginning, it seems that the purpose of the apostle is to show the blessed results of peace in the Christian hope which is held out, and this Christian hope is secured in the method laid down in this passage. Thus we have opened up to us these three elements of Christian rejoicing; rejoicing in hope of the glory of God, in the blessed experiences of present blessing and the promise of future joys. The exultation is further expressed in the tribulations through which he is called to pass. And finally the Christian exults in God who has brought to him, of his own free will and by the voluntary gift of his Son, the reconciliation, a reconciliation which he himself provides for lost men who have become estranged from him. Intermediate portions of this passage well deserve consideration, but may be reserved for further discussion in this department.

THE DECAY OF THE PASTORAL HABIT.

THERE is a distinction to be observed between pastoral duty and the pastoral habit. There is no reason to believe that ministers are derelict in pastoral fidelity, but there is reason to think that the pastoral is not regarded as so organic a part of ministerial life as it once was. The early preachers, especially in settled parishes, had the habit of visiting their people at regular intervals. This has disappeared, and pastoral labor is confined to meeting the necessities of the people as they arise. Thus the pastoral habit appears to be in decadence. This may readily be accounted for. Churches are more anxious to secure brilliant preachers than faithful pastors. Committees visit the churches for the purpose of determining the preacher's pulpit ability, and make few inquiries as to his pastoral qualifications. It is conceded that it is impossible to make pastoral efficiency a substitute for pulpit power. Is it not equally true that success in the pulpit cannot take the place of pastoral fidelity?

The decay of the pastoral habit is further due to the change in the popular view of the pastoral function. The early preachers had more authority as pastors than the modern ones. It was recognized as their duty to catechise the people from house to house. Often their visits were occasions of special interest. The family was called together; the spiritual condition of all its members was inquired into, and this was followed by exhortation and prayer. This condition of things has largely changed.

This decay is further due to the gradual disappearance of personal religious conversation as an element in family visitation. But this does not involve the disappearance of pastoral duty. Pastoral work has taken additional forms, and is rather connected with the emergencies that arise in the church than with their regular formal duty. When emergencies arise, people turn instinctively to the pastor for sympathy and comfort. There is something in the counsel and sympathy of a loving pastor that cannot be imparted by anyone else.

The pastoral habit should be diligently cultivated, because it is helpful to a preservation of the humanness of the preacher. He must see how people live; he must hear what they say and feel what they feel, if he would be a true shepherd of the flock of Christ. It is the sense of kinship which keeps the minister from losing his interest in the struggles of mankind. The people whom he visits are members of Christ's fold. The sheep know not the voice of a stranger, but the shepherd they gladly follow. The true shepherd must understand how his people feel in order to minister to them with satisfaction and success.

The object of this writing is to stimulate, on the part of our young preachers, the pastoral habit, which, persisted in, will enable them to secure such an acquaintance with their people as will make them more effective preachers, as well as more influential in their general influence over the members of their congregations.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA AND THE NEW TESTAMENT.

No work in the English language represents the advanced wing of historical biblical criticism more fairly than the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, edited by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, D.D., Canon of Rochester and Professor of the Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures at Oxford, and by J. Sutherland Black, LL.D. The editors in chief and most of their colaborers are pronounced in their antagonism to the older orthodoxy. Indeed, they love to parade themselves as honest seekers after truth, broad-minded, "scientific," liberal critics. The standpoint of the editor in chief of these three volumes has been well stated in an editorial in the *British Weekly*, as follows: "The principle of Dr. Cheyne's criticism, so far as we can deduce it, is that all statements in the Old Testament and in the New Testament, as we have them, are, to say the least, probably false." The supernatural element in the Bible, if we understand the position of this *Encyclopædia*, is to be completely rejected as unworthy of the serious critic's consideration. What we call miracle Dr. Cheyne labels as legendary or mythical, or, by way of change, "a later interpolation" inserted by some fanciful person of a poetical turn of mind in the interest of some policy or tendency. Should the reader desire to consult the article on "Miracles," in order to see what Dr. Cheyne has to say on this basal subject, he will be disappointed, for there is no article on "Miracles," but, instead, a mere cross reference to "Wonders," "Gospels," and "John." The silence observed here need not keep us from forming a correct idea of the editor's opinion concerning miracles, as we shall show farther on.

We have pointed out in these pages on more than one occasion the natural connection between Old Testament and New Testament criticism, and that a "scientific" biblical critic should necessarily have to follow the same method in discussing the authorship, authenticity, and genuineness of books, and kindred topics, whether in the Hebrew or in the Christian Scriptures. We have pointed out the probability that the man who can dissect the Pentateuch into numberless sections, loosely put together, long after the times of Moses—who, according to Dr. Cheyne, never existed, but was a mere clan name—will find no difficulty in doing the same with any book of the New Testament. Yes, the man who can do away with all Messianic prophecies in the Old Testament, as understood by the average evangelical preacher of the Gospel, will not find it a hard task to deny the divinity or deity of Jesus Christ. We say "or deity," because our critics when speaking of Jesus Christ willingly grant his divinity while strenuously denying his deity. Let the uncritical reader notice that the two terms are no longer synonymous. He who rejects the miracles of the Old Testament will, if strictly

logical and critical, find it a very easy matter to eliminate the supernatural, and especially the miraculous, element from the New Testament. The man who can brand the angelic appearances, as recorded in the Old Testament, as legendary can logically deny similar records in the New; for instance, there is no more reason for believing that Peter was delivered from prison by the intervention of an angel as recorded in Acts xii, 7ff., than to suppose that angels led Lot out of Sodom (Gen. xix, 15).

What we predicted less than six years ago in these pages—and we claimed no prophetic insight either—has been fulfilled. These advanced critics have not rested in their efforts with the books of the Old Testament, but they, as any reader of this *Encyclopædia* may see for himself, moved on and are now attacking the very citadel of the Christian faith. We knew years ago that according to these wise men Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Joshua, Saul, David, etc., etc., were not real persons, but lunar or solar heroes, clan names or tribal gods. The criticism that denied the existence of the patriarchs commenced by denying the authority of the records which mentioned them. Now that the gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles are treated in the same way we should not wonder if Peter, James, John, Paul, and even Jesus Christ were even more symbolic than real. Dr. Nicoll has well said: "This kind of criticism has no end, save a complete destruction of the Bible and its religion —in other words, it moves onward and still onward to nihilism. It will be found very soon that it is quite compatible with any theory of the real existence of Christ or Paul, not to speak of others."

Should the reader consult the articles "Bethlehem," "Nazareth," "Nativity," and "Mary the Mother of Jesus," he will discover that the writers of these often contradict one another, and thus that this "scientific criticism" is mutually destructive. Canon Cheyne in his article on "Nazareth" tells, what we knew before, "that the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem was regarded as an indispensable sign of the Messiahship;" then volunteers a little piece of information, not so well known, namely, "that in the earliest form of the evangelical tradition Jesus was said to have been born in Bethlehem-Nazareth (=Bethlehem of Galilee)." He then explains that the Bethlehem of Zebulun, some seven miles from Nazareth, is meant. But lest we may misrepresent the learned canon, and that we may present his method of criticism, we shall insert the following: "The title Bethlehem-Nazareth was misunderstood by some of the transmitters of the tradition, so that while some said, 'Jesus was born at Bethlehem,' others said, 'Jesus was born at Nazareth.' 'Bethlehem,' without any explanatory addition, was naturally supposed to be the southern Bethlehem, and the well-known narratives, so poetic, so full of spiritual suggestion, in Matt. ii and Luke ii, 1-10 (which are unsupported by the other gospels), have arisen in consequence." Then he quietly adds: "To this theory it is no valid objection that it *involves going behind the present evangelical narratives: that is, in*

fact, indispensable to historical criticism—we have to do so continually in Old Testament criticism, and no good reason has been offered for invariably acquiescing in the oldest extant forms of the evangelic traditions." The italics are our own. This passage deserves the attention of every critic, since it contains a declaration of the purpose of Dr. Cheyne and followers to treat the New Testament precisely as they have treated the Old. Henceforth whatever conflicts with their theories will be marked "legendary," "mythical," "later insertion," "interpolation," etc.

Dr. Schmiedel in his article "Mary the Mother of Jesus" rightly says that our chief interest in the case of Mary concentrates in the doctrine of the "virgin birth;" then, with the air of a downright scientific critic, places witness after witness on the stand to testify against such a doctrine. Jesus himself, at least in the first three gospels, maintains a silence which, if we are to believe Schmiedel, arises from a "delicate reserve" on the question of his birth. Yet we are told that there are passages which directly exclude the doctrine of virgin birth. Had Mary believed in it she could never have been induced to say with others that Jesus was beside himself. By the way, did Mary say that? The fact that we are told that "Jesus *first* received the Holy Spirit at his baptism," likewise excludes the idea of virgin birth. Who says that this was the *first* time? Whole sections in the first two chapters of Luke bear witness against this doctrine, consequently the two verses in the first chapter (34, 35) supporting this view must be regarded as a late insertion. The phrase "Son of God" applied to Jesus must be interpreted as in the Old Testament, in the sense of a man entirely consecrated to God. The two genealogies make Jesus not only the son of Mary but also the son of Joseph. Paul likewise is made to testify against the doctrine of virgin birth. He says (Gal. iv, 4) that he "was born of a woman," not born "of a virgin," that is, born like any other human being. But what is the use of citing Paul? for, as we shall see, Paul never wrote an epistle or anything whatever as far as we know. Professor Schmiedel is so impartial and full in his efforts that he summons as last witnesses against this doctrine the Talmud and Celsus. These great authorities say that Jesus was the child of the adulterous intercourse of Mary with a soldier, Stada or Pandera. As stated above, any verse favoring the doctrine of virgin birth is unceremoniously designated "later insertion." The object of the whole article is to prove that Jesus Christ was a mere man.

Let us now turn our attention to the Acts and the epistles. To begin with the Acts: Professor van Manen, of Leyden, standing on the shoulders of Bruno Bauer (whose theories are thoroughly exploded), who flourished in the first part of the second half of the last century, tells us that the book of Acts "professes to be a sequel to the third gospel. . . . But we cannot regard the contents of the Acts as a true and creditable first-hand narrative of what had actually occurred, nor yet as the ripe fruit of earnest historical re-

search. . . . The book bears in part a legendary-historical, in part an edifying and apologetic, character." The book of Acts, we are assured, was written to encourage some converts elsewhere, and especially to show how favorable the Roman authorities were to the new religion. The book is composite in its nature, made up of the Acts of Peter and the Acts of Paul. The author, who wrote about 130-150 A. D., drew also from other authorities and made liberal use of the writings of Josephus.

What of the epistles? Let Dr. van Manen reply to this weighty question. He says: "With respect to the canonical Pauline epistles, the later criticism here under consideration has learned to recognize that they are *none of them by Paul*—neither 14 or 13, nor 9 or 10, nor 7 or 8, nor yet even the 4 so long so universally regarded as unassailable. *They are all*, without distinction, pseudepigrapha (this, of course, not implying the least depreciation of their contents). . . . They contain seemingly historical data from the life and labors of the apostle, . . . at least for the most part borrowed from 'Acts of Paul,' which also underlie our canonical book of Acts." Now, this being so—and has not Dr. van Manen said so?—no critic need henceforth trouble himself to distinguish between "the principal epistles and the minor or deutero-Pauline ones." "Deutero-Pauline" may sound new to the unscientific critic, but what of that? Have we not had "deutero-Isaiah" these many years? We are further told that the so-called Pauline epistles are of the same character as those of John, James, Ignatius, Clement, and the martyrdom of Polycarp. The reader will notice that the last three are placed on equal footing with the first two. Though there be no unity of authorship there are nevertheless obvious marks of certain unity, and it is probable that they all originated in the same circle of writers. The Dutch professor, having, to his own satisfaction, proved that Paul did not write anything whatever as far as we know, then proceeds to enlighten us, and says that these so-called Pauline epistles were first sent not to private parties or to any definite persons; they were pretendedly written during the lifetime of Paul, Timothy, Silvanus, etc. They are not letters, but religious treatises. They bear no resemblance to real letters. Take First Corinthians, for instance; this "was not written at one gush," or even at intervals, but it is rather "an aggregation of fragments, which had not originally the same destination." Romans is of composite origin, made up of older writings, epistles, and possibly various oral traditions. Galatians is "an adaptation of a letter previously read in the circle of the Marionites, although we are no longer in position to restore the older form."

We close in the words of Canon Cheyne, found in a recent number of the *Nineteenth Century*. Discussing "Old Testament Criticism," he says: "It is at any rate quite certain that much which passes as the result of criticism, both textual and analytic, is in a high degree defective."

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Emil Kautzsch. There are not a few who imagine that because modern scholars do not regard the Old Testament in the same light as did their predecessors they have either destroyed its value or have so minified its significance as to make it practically useless. Such an opinion of the critics is, as has been often said, erroneous, though their almost constant reference to the negative aspect of the doctrine of the Old Testament explains the prevalence of the opinion referred to. Kautzsch is not one of the extremest of the German critics, but he is a fair representative of the conservative progressive school, to which about all Old Testament professors in this country belong. He rejects the old doctrine of inspiration according to which the Old Testament is inerrant and equally valuable in all its parts; asserts that in many respects the preparatory and therefore imperfect character of the Old Testament religion must be admitted; and condemns the custom of spiritualizing the Old Testament in the interest of Christian teaching. Nevertheless he sees great use for the Old Testament, as his recent little book, *Die bleibende Bedentung des Alten Testaments* (The Abiding Significance of the Old Testament), published in Tübingen by J. C. B. Mohr, shows. In that work he affirms the permanent value of the Old Testament as literature both in its prose and poetical portions, and also for purposes of history. He holds further that for the instruction both of children and adults the Old Testament is a means of the greatest importance. Even after the most careful exclusion of all that is not adapted to the needs of the instructor there remains still an enormous quantity of material which may serve either as example or as incentive. He refers in this connection to the decalogue, to the history of the patriarchs, but especially to the moral earnestness which breathes through the whole of the Old Testament. But that which gives the Old Testament its deepest and most abiding significance is its religious elements. Of these he mentions first and chiefly the depth and purity of the doctrine of God as there taught. And perhaps the most wonderful feature of this doctrine of God is that it never became so abstract as to be useless, as it did in later Judaism and as it has become in some quarters and ages of Christendom. Even in the doctrines of the eternity, the omnipresence, and the omniscience of God, which offer the greatest difficulties to human thought, the Old Testament preserves God as a living God. And along with this goes the fact that prayer is the necessary expression of the religious life. Still more important, according to Kautzsch, is it that the Old Testament assures us of the fact and nature of a divine plan and way of salvation which in the New Testament age, in the

person and work of Christ, finds its completion and perfection. To study the Old Testament prophets means to study the divine revelation in its best available source, the revelation in Christ excepted. No matter what enthusiasm the study of other religions may arouse in one the sincere student of Hebrew prophecy will have to admit its enormous superiority to all other pre- or extra-Christian religiosity. The distinguishing mark of this prophecy is that it is serviceable to a divine plan of salvation, from which it cannot be disconnected. In the Old Testament are the foundation pillars upon which the New Testament structure has been erected. It would seem that here the higher critic goes as far in appreciation of the Old Testament as one can go who still wishes to leave room for the assertion that Christianity has anything better to offer than Judaism, and who wishes to remain true to Jesus Christ, who found considerable fault with the Old Testament morals and religion.

Samuel Oettli. In a recent book entitled *Amos und Hosea. Zwei Zeugen gegen die Anwendung der Evolutionstheorie auf die Religion Israels* (Amos and Hosea. Two Witnesses against the Application of the Theory of Evolution to the Religion of Israel), Gütersloh, C. Bertelsmann, he has once more proved his leadership as a theologian. He declares that neither Amos nor Hosea makes any pretense of demanding anything of the Israelitish people which they did not of themselves know and which with their existing light they could not do. The people had merely come to neglect their Jahweh. Hence, according to Oettli, these prophets saw in the religious history of Israel no gradual progress from rude beginnings: they saw in the syncretism of the moment no point of development through which the Israelitish religion must pass, but a retrogression from an earlier and purer origin. So also these prophets make no profession of bringing to the people anything new; on the contrary, they refer everything to their divinely sent predecessors. As a fact, the faith in the one God existed before these prophets, for example, in the stories of the creation and the flood, and the recognition of the ethical character of God was found in Nathan and Elijah, and was reflected in the popular conception of the "day of the Lord." These prophets only deduced for the conditions of their time the conclusions which lay implicit in a doctrine known to Israel long before. Indeed, they could never have regarded the great national distress as a judgment on account of the people's sins, nor could they have seen in the enemies of Israel the instrument of Jahweh's wrath, if the idea of the ethical nature of Jahweh had been new, or especially if it had been originated by them. In everything the two prophets refer back to the period of the founding of the nation as the time of the first and fundamental revelation of Jahweh, and they are therefore important witnesses against the application of the evolutionary theory to the religion of Israel. Oettli is undoubtedly right

in asserting that God's religious education of man does not proceed in the line of a regular development. It is not for a moment to be believed that Jahweh as he was known to Moses was a God of mere power, who, as the people developed in ethical insight, had to be fitted out with ethical attributes by the prophets. While admitting the clearer and sharper definition of the thought of God in later times, it is still true that in his great features he was known to Moses when he entered upon the work to which God had called him. But there is danger that in estimating the revelation as given to Moses we shall seek its salient points in the knowledge God gave of his own nature and character. This he undoubtedly gave in a considerable degree. But that which more clearly distinguishes the Mosaic system is the peculiar religious relation in which Moses placed his people to God. He founded this relation upon great salvatory facts, not upon natural events, thus bringing God directly into relation to the people. He emphasized the importance of obedience on the part of the people toward God, rather than of forms of worship. He gave judgment in the name of Jahweh, and thus placed him on the side of justice as distinguished from power. And all this became a part of the permanent religious possessions of Israel. Still, it is going too far to say that Amos and Hosea offered nothing new, for unquestionably from them or from their time sprang the idea of God as related to the whole world and not to Israel alone, to say nothing of other matters in which they added to the revelation of God to man.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Die neutestamentliche Lehre von der Seligkeit und ihre Bedeutung für die Gegenwart, dargestellt. Der geschichtliche Darstellung dritte Abtheilung: Die Johanneische Anschauung unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Seligkeit dargestellt. Vierte Abtheilung: Die vulgäre Anschauung von der Seligkeit in Urchristenthum, ihre Entwickelung bis zum Uebergang in katholische Formen (The New Testament Doctrine of Salvation and its Significance for the Present Day. Third Division: The Johannine View. Fourth Division: The Popular Notion of Salvation in Primitive Christian Times, to the Period of Early Catholicism). Two volumes. By Arthur Titius. Tübingen, 1900. J. C. B. Mohr. The reader should not be frightened away from these volumes by the great length of the titles, for the two together contain only xix and 373 pages. Together with the preceding volumes they constitute a work of great value, not without faults, relative to the conception of what the acceptance of Christianity by any person does or ought to do for him. In other words, the work is a treatise on personal religion from the standpoint of apostolic and post-apostolic Christianity. The question, What is it to be a Christian? is viewed in the light of the

teachings of the various New Testament writers. It is a work which is of even greater value to the preacher and pastor than to the professional theologian. In the third division, which deals more especially with the Johannine view, the attempt is made to trace the influence of Jesus upon those who come after him. According to John, as according to Paul, eternal life is conditioned upon faith, but faith is not a mere intellectual assent to certain Christian propositions, but the conviction that Jesus is what he professes to be, the giver of life. In the thought of the filial relationship to God John gives us two views, the deterministic, or that of the new birth from God, and the ethical, or that of a mutual relationship of love between the Father and the son. Even under the deterministic conception the ethical character of faith is maintained. The Johannine theology affords us much that is peculiar. We have the idea that there is a natural connection between communion with God and the practical exhibition of brotherly love, and on the other hand we have the thought that only by doing the commandments of Christ can we abide in the love of God and of Christ. It may be true that we have here no designation of the means by which salvation is secured, but we certainly do have a suggestion as to the means by which it is to be maintained. This is but a hint as to the ground covered by the volume on John. The fourth division was, at the time of its publication, something new, though in the short time since other writers have covered the same ground. Anyone who will understand the Christian conception of the relation of religion to life must go at least a short distance beyond the apostolic age. For the period up to 150 A. D. may be regarded as at least in some measure reflecting the New Testament conception. And it shows us what those who became Christians from the midst of paganism thought to be their duty and privilege. It is therefore a kind of popular commentary on the New Testament doctrine of the Christian life. But the greatest care must be taken to distinguish what, in this popular view, is drawn from Christ and the apostles, and what the people of that later time contributed for themselves. For it is evident that in course of time the whole conception changed radically, and unless we are willing to accept the outcome in the Middle Ages we must abide by the New Testament.

Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit. Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung (Prayer in the Earliest Christian Ages. An Historical Study). By Eduard Freiherr von der Goltz. Leipzig, 1901, J. C. Heinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. The author is at once a theological instructor and a pastor, and the latter relationship accounts for the form as well as the somewhat practical character of his work. He fully understands the difficulties which attend the development of his subject, and says that the sources from which the words of prayers or utterances concerning prayer are to be taken

afford only indirect testimony, since the prayers themselves belong only to the time and the circumstances under which they were first uttered. His chief purpose is to call attention to the inner life hidden behind the words of the prayers, which had its origin in Jesus Christ. His purpose marks his book off from a mere history of liturgical forms of prayer, and brings it into line with the more modern theological sense which emphasizes the inner religious life, rather than the mere outward form and expression. His first chapter is devoted to the prayers of Jesus, and in it he treats such themes as how Jesus himself prayed, how Jesus led his disciples to pray, and what Jesus taught concerning true prayer. Man is ever compelled to speak in figures, and so Jesus is called the Son of God. In the prayers of Jesus the relationship thereby suggested came to immediate and complete expression. This innermost sanctuary of Jesus's life is, indeed, accessible only in part to his disciples, and especially so to us. Our whole life will pass without our learning to pray as Jesus prayed. And we are hindered from learning the exact secrets of the prayers of Jesus also by the slight differences between the reports of the synoptic gospels. But in his prayers his true human sensibilities betrayed themselves most clearly. Von der Goltz does not think that the Lord's Prayer is designed as a prescribed form which must of necessity be used whenever we pray. A second chapter is given up to the prayers of St. Paul, and a third to prayer in the apostolic and postapostolic periods. He seems to have taken up Paul separately because in the collection of writings attributed to him we possess a tolerably secure source of information relative to the earliest days of Christianity, and because the filial spirit which was the spirit most manifest in the prayers of Jesus was most fully preserved in the writings of Paul. These two considerations excuse the break in the logical order of development which Paul's separate treatment occasions. This treatment of the relationship between Paul and the prayers of subsequent Christendom is not altogether satisfactory. It seems most likely that the earlier apostles exerted a greater influence than Von der Goltz is willing to allow, and that prayer as practiced in Judaism affected Jewish Christian prayer; and also that prayer as practiced by pagans became influential in the prayers of pagans who became Christians is almost certain. These points are not neglected, but their treatment is inadequate. In his fourth chapter he gives us characteristics of the early Christian prayers in the period of the origin of the Old Catholic Church. And in an appendix he reproduces the most important prayers of that early period. He also touches upon the prayers found in the inscriptions of the early catacombs. Thus he leads us up to the point where prayer lost its spontaneous character and took on a relatively fixed form. But Von der Goltz is fully impressed with the educational value of the use of stereotyped forms of prayer, perhaps all the more because he has traced their origin and knows their inner spirit.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Pastoral Support in France. The reference is more especially to the evangelical clergy, who are better paid in Paris than elsewhere. Those outside of Paris are divided into three classes. The following table is illustrative:

Pastors in Paris receive each, per year	3,000	francs.
" of the first class	2,200	"
" " " second class	2,000	"
" " " third class	1,800	"

This shows that the highest salary is about $600, and the lowest $360. When a clergyman has reached the age of sixty he is entitled to a pension. Each pastor pays, from his thirtieth to his sixtieth year, two and three fifths per cent of his salary into the pension treasury, that is, from 48 to 78 francs, annually. After the age of sixty he may draw out from 313 to 381 francs. The whole pension amounts to a respectable sum, as compared with the support given to worn-out preachers in the Methodist Episcopal Church, as the following table shows:

Pensions in Paris	2,004	francs, about	$400
" for first class	1,661	" "	$332
" for second class	1,564	" "	$313
" for third class	1,438	" "	$287

But while these pensions are relatively high the salaries are painfully small, and in some pastors' families meat is a luxury to be enjoyed not more than once a year, while it is not uncommon for them to accept gladly as gifts old books and magazines and even old clothing, so inadequate is their support.

The Roman Church as a Financial Institution. Cardinal Antonelli was the first to conceive the idea of giving the Roman Church a solid financial basis. He began as early as 1859, and by 1870 the income of the Church from other sources was about twice as large as that from Peter's Pence, and amounted in all to about 18,000,000 lire. Leo XIII modified some of Antonelli's measures in the interest both of economy and readiness of access to the funds. The financial management of the Church is in the hands of several commissions, but Leo XIII personally supervises all the more important transactions. The principal sources of the Church's wealth are the businesses of banking, industries, and real estate. The Banco di Roma is almost entirely in the possession of the Vatican. The Church engages—not, of course, in its own name—in large real estate transactions in Paris. The accumulated wealth is said by those who are in a position to know to be so enormous that should it wish to do so the Church could enter the money market as a power of the first order. And it is already asserted by the friends of the Church that should she see fit to enter the financial world she would do so in the interest of greater honesty and would thereby in no wise depart from her divine mission.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

A WISE, careful, and steadying article by Samuel McComb answers, in the *Contemporary Review* for August, the question, "Do We Need Dogma?" A German school, which says much about the Gospel, puts dogma under ban, and Martineau tried to preach an undogmatic Christianity. But, in the sense of definitely stated truths to be believed, all thinking men, whether they call themselves dogmatists or antidogmatists, must have dogmas; though Christian dogma can lay no claim to infallibility, being, not the absolute Truth of God, but rather the truth refracted and colored by the human media of reason, reflection, and elaboration, through which it has passed. . . . Theologians have sometimes spoken as if Dogma had a right to override conscience and reason, the Roman Catholic appealing to the Church, the High Anglican to the Bible as interpreted by a consent of the Fathers of which history knows nothing, and the Evangelical to the *ipsissima verba* of the Sacred Writings taken literally; but all these theories are at bottom skeptical—skeptical on the one hand of the inherent sovereignty and convincing energy of Divine Truth, and on the other of the moral reason of man. Yet theology must appeal to reason, meaning by reason not merely the understanding but the totality of man's spiritual powers. . . . The question is, Where shall we find a genuine doctrinal standard? The problem can admit of one solution only. It is in the Christian consciousness of the individual and of the age that the Court of Appeal is to be found. In other words, the ultimate standard is the religious consciousness in which all men have a share, enlightened, molded, penetrated, and shaped by the teaching of Christ in the Gospels, in the history of the Church, and in the illuminating influence of His Spirit. Each age has its own vision of Christ. In the ultimate analysis it is by this vision that all things must be tried. It represents the best conclusions of the age as to the contents of the Bible, the meaning of the world and of life, and while its decisions are not final in the sense that posterity may not advance beyond them, they are for us the measure of our apprehension of the truth. Christ grows in the individual soul; He also grows in the soul of an age. Centuries, as they pass, unfold in ever-increasing richness the ideal significance of His Person. Our ideal, as Emerson says, is "a flying one," the goal ever recedes as we advance. Before His bar all dogmas must be arraigned. Whatever stands His criticism justifies its right to be; whatever shrinks from before His eye, though it has grown gray in the service of human thought, is doomed to death. McComb's excellent article notes several encouraging facts: (1) The metaphysician has shown that Agnosticism cannot even be stated without involving a contradiction in thought; and even Agnosticism no longer confounds man with nonhuman nature, or makes him,

like plant or animal, a product of the cosmic process. Even Professor Huxley protested against the de-ethicizing of man and the attempt to explain all that is distinctive in him by physical causes, in such a tone and manner as led one reviewer to remark that Huxley made an approximation to the Pauline dogma of nature and grace. Man's moral nature makes him of eternal worth in a world otherwise transitory. He seems the sport and plaything of cosmic forces; but as a being who alone can hear the categorical imperative of conscience, who can lend, as Goethe says, permanence to the moment, and can hearken to the whisper of immortal hopes, he is, where theology has always placed him—*at the center of the universe.* (2) Materialism is now everywhere discredited. Idealism has won all along the line, and the story of our earthly days is not held to be a detected failure, but a rudimentary eternity. Materialism has received its deathblow and spirit has come off victorious, being disclosed as the ultimate and only reality. (3) The theory of evolution, as yet only a theory, which was at first supposed by both believer and unbeliever to be the foe of religion, is now plainly shown to involve no overthrow or weakening of Christianity, even were it proved true. Natural Selection and the Survival of the Fittest cannot account for all that is involved in any evolutionary process. Principal Fairbairn pronounces evolution the greatest theistic discovery of modern times. However that may be, religion has nothing to fear from evolution theories. True or false, they can do no harm. Dr. McComb affirms (4) that Historical Criticism has contributed materially to the substance and strength of theology. This is what he says: "It is a reassuring reflection that now, after the critical labors of such men as Wendt, Weiss, Weizsäcker, and Harnack among the Germans, and of Hort, Westcott, Sanday, and Bruce among British divines, the Agnostic despair of history is no longer possible. Professor Harnack being witness, the fire of the most stringent criticism has failed to dissolve such facts as these: (1) That Jesus claimed to be the Messiah, the prophetically announced Deliverer of God's people; (2) that the Logos doctrine of St. John cannot be traced back to Philo; (3) that the marvelous (and, indeed, the strictly miraculous) cannot be eliminated from the records without utterly destroying them. These positions established, consequences flow from them in the light of which we see theology to be not, as some think, a more or less dexterous manipulation of abstract notions, but a sympathetic interpretation of the realities of history. They give us a fulcrum in the real light of humanity for all our constructive endeavors. Christ is the inspiration of the Christian religion, and therefore the main source of a Christian theology. Theology is thus humanized by the vision of God in the humanity of Christ. Men are asking to-day not, Is there a God; but, What kind of a God is He who is involved in all thought and life; what is the character of the Will behind the universe? Theology answers: Look at Jesus as He lives and breathes in the

Gospel history, and you will find God; His reason and heart lie at the center of all things; in Him you will discover the clew to the winding mazes of history, the baffling perplexities of thought, the dire mysteries of Nature. We see a light shining in the darkness; and as we have been compelled to interpret Nature in terms of man, so our thinking seems now forced to interpret man in terms of Christ. The noble and ennobling thought that humanity is organically related to Christ, that He is the Archetype to which in the creative purpose of God all men are called to be conformed, has sunk deep into the heart of our age and is already bearing fruit in the humaner spirit, the more gracious and winsome service, and the wider social sympathies of all religious men. Touched with this spirit, enriched with the knowledge of a new time, the students and teachers of religion are equipped for the task to which the new century calls them, that of restoring to theology her ancient throne, no longer to tyrannize over human thought and life, but to illustrate the Master's gracious Word: 'He that would be greatest of all, let him be the servant of all.'"

THE belching of flatulent bosh, varied by occasional blasphemy, goes on. Once in these pages we wrote of "The Whitman Craze," and later, in other pages, on "The Deification of 'One of the Roughs.'" By assertion or implication his devotees continue to present him, even to people outside lunatic asylums, as the Christ of the nineteenth century. In *The Critic* (New York) for October, Whitman's literary executors tell us, with awed faces and reverent tones, that their idol felt—and who should know if he did not?—that his message to mankind "was, so far, the most pregnant revelation from the god in man." From their description of their redeemer's funeral at Camden, N. J., we quote: "From the Delaware ferries to Harleigh Cemetery, a distance of perhaps three miles, the roads were busy with the people coming and going, and with fakirs who sold fruits and a strange miscellany of wares. It possessed the kaleidoscopic features of the country fair. The faces of the people were even glad faces. For while the people were not glad that Jesus was dead, they were glad that He had lived." If it was Jesus who was dead, why did they carve the name of Walt Whitman on that tomb in Harleigh Cemetery? For utter gone-daft-ness, for maudlin drivel, the Whitman craze exceeds. In the same issue of *The Critic*, J. P. Mowbray writes with exquisite wit and a sort of tender raillery about "The New Pagan Lilt." He tells of a new religion, a modernized and naturalized paganism which is uttering itself in trillets through a brood of poets now pouring their devout roulades from every magazine spray. Of one poet, whom he considers rather more mature and masculine than Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Mr. Mowbray says: "No child of song at present on the magazine lawn has an equal bobolink disregard for everything but the lawn. His spontaneity of chirp, his self-confident utterance of bobolink finalities, must de-

light all observing souls that are past thinking, or not yet arrived at the forlorn condition of hopeless rational cerebration." This new religion is described as resembling Mother Eddy's in that, instead of wrestling with the unthinkable, it proceeds calmly to build upon it. Mr. Mowbray marvels at the ease with which this ethereal pagan lilt comprehends the All-That-Isn't and dodges both the uncomfortable and the inevitable; he notes that the Tremendous Old Book, from which rolls, deep and awful like a great bell striking notes of doom, the cadence of the Shalts and Shalt Nots, is ignored, and a voluptuous self-indulgence fostered which promotes lassitude of conviction and softens down the imperatives that are still echoing in our archetypal souls; and says that to deny that such views exceed in soft comfortableness anything Schaff or Lange has given us is to shut our eyes to the lambent beauty of a pagan naturalism. This new paganism comes to the aspiring and wrestling type of piety, inquires whether we are not a little tired of this overstrenuousness of conviction which throws out its shirt front, clenches its fist, stamps its foot, and stands for the right, and whether we would not be more serene and comfortable by just lying down dreamily in the dusk with "the star-eyed children of the grass." Mr. Mowbray imagines one of these new pagans saying: "There is that moss-grown notion of the ages that Nature is under necessity but that man is not; a fine old credal platitude it is, and much akin to the other notion that man is only a little lower than the angels, when we all know now that he is only a little higher than a soft-shell clam. Let me introduce you to my guest, Herr Haeckel. He is in the conservatory with the hyacinths." And Mr. Mowbray's irony goes on as follows: "That there is some kind of ineffable joy in the confraternity of man and mollusks, and a definite soul relief in not straining to be a little lower than the angels, is a truth that will not seize upon the rational mind with the blinding force of a flash. It must dawn gently and gray upon the sensibilities like the moral of a problem play. But only let it dawn and we are safe to come, in the sunrise of culture, to the glad assurance that we are no longer to struggle with our destinies. It is enough to lie down with our origins. No other religious concept has such a broad basis of humility, for once on that sunny path man's egotism will, in becoming as a little child, surely reach the pristine stage of lollypops and mud pies, always providing that it does not linger by the way too long with the star-eyed children of the grass, but pushes on faithfully to the primeval slime." Remarking further upon the facility with which this pagan poetic culture shuts off the exigent, the urgent, and the imperative, and is content to lie at ease, enchanted and enraptured with beauty, our critic's earnest irony still plays: "It is true, the everlasting fray goes on. Ormuzd and Ahriman are still at it with their embattled hosts. Our mental horizons are dark with the conflict and the tides of the battle ebb and flow. There are voices calling to us from the ranks for help as The Good wavers and retires for a while amid

the smoke of error. But what is all this clamor but the old platitudes of good and evil that have been thundering so long, and why should we turn from the truce of God made with the crocus and hyacinth, to this old grime and discomfort? That were, indeed, to be again theologic, to fall into the old error of believing that poetry is 'a crushed perfume exhaling from the sky,' instead of being a fleeting odor rising from the sod. Of those old minstrels who learned in suffering what they lisped in song the worst that can be said is that 'themselves from God they could not free' and they found God through humanity. That Bohemian soul in the streets of Paris no less than that theologic peasant in the heather of Scotland seemed to hear God's voice through his pangs and not through his pleasures.

> Tumbled upon the world
> An ugly wretched wight,
> Here buffeted, there hurled,
> Mankind against a mite.
> When oft my misery
> A plaintive moan would wring,
> The good God said to me,
> Sing on, sad heart, O sing."

It is added that in manner this new paganism "combines the stately incorrigibility of Dr. Briggs with the swirling audacity of Bob Ingersoll;" but it is not believed that it will be able to dislodge Moses, Isaiah, and David with its æolian breath, or even to whistle Plato down the viewless winds. The October number of *The Critic* also contains a critique of Young's "Night Thoughts" by Sir Leslie Stephen.

Before us lies the first number of *The Hibbert Journal*, a quarterly Review of religion, theology, and philosophy, published at London and Oxford, edited by L. P. Jacks and G. Dawes Hicks, assisted by an Editorial Board consisting of scholars of the most various schools of thought, including the Deans of Ely and Durham, Dr. John Watt, Professor Cheyne, Dr. Drummond, Mr. Montefiore, and Professors Gardner and Muirhead, with Professors Fenn of Harvard and Howison of the University of California. The policy of this new Journal is that of "the open door." It offers to differing and antagonistic views an open field, believing that the free exposition of conflicting opinions face to face will tend to remove misunderstanding which is the root of all bitterness. The editors say: "As between those who shun inquiry on the ground that the form of religious thought is already fixed in human language, and those, again, who see in theology a process akin to evolution in nature, the sympathies of this Journal are frankly with the latter. For 'advanced' thought we have no special affinity; but thought which advances it is our mission to represent. Movement, in accordance with intellectual law, betokens health and vitality in religion. At the same time we refrain from defining the direction such movement ought to take—

whether as a return to old positions or as a departure for new. Our aim is to reflect the movement of religious thought in its continual approach to firmer ground. We stand for three positive truths: that the goal of thought is One; that thought, striving to reach the Goal, must forever move; that, in the conflict of opinion, the movement is furthered by which the many approach the One." The articles in this number are "The Basis of Christian Doctrine," "The Concept of the Infinite," "The Controversy Between Science and Faith," "Matthew Arnold," "'Righteousness of God' in Paul's Theology," "Early Doctrinal Modifications of the Gospels," "Catastrophes and the Moral Order." A large amount of solid matter is packed into the 208 pages of this number. No discussion of its merits is possible here, only a few quotations from its pages: "A very able and liberal theologian writes, 'Those who speak most of the reformulation of the Faith do not appear to me to be the men who know the past.'" "The more enthusiastic forces of Christianity, such as the Methodists"—in which expression lies a tribute we should earnestly avoid ceasing to deserve. "Any man who wishes to proceed reasonably should know better than to set aside ancient beliefs merely on subjective or rationalistic grounds." "Two recent books are valuable: E. D. Starbuck's *Psychology of Religion* and Mr. Granger's *Soul of a Christian*, the latter the more profound and valuable. Now, however, Professor James's *Varieties of Religious Experience* takes its place as the ablest work on the religion of experience." "The pious worker in the field of natural science becomes a severe, almost a Puritan, Monotheist. Professor Seeley wrote, 'If we will look at things and not merely at words we shall soon see that the scientific man has a theology and a God, a most impressive theology, a most awful and glorious God. That man believes in God who feels himself in presence of a Power which is not himself, and is immeasurably above himself, a Power in the contemplation of which he is absorbed, in the knowledge of which he finds safety and happiness. But the final witness to God will always be found in the words of Augustine, 'Thou madest us for Thyself, and our heart is restless till it find rest in Thee.'" Professor Royce's article, in expounding the newer conceptions of the Infinite, follows the lead of certain mathematicians, in particular of Richard Dedekind and George Cantor. Some of Dedekind's definitions are in a volume entitled *Essays on Number*, published by the Open Court Company of Chicago. The article by Sir Oliver Lodge says: "The outstanding controversy between science and faith rests upon two distinct conceptions of the universe: the one, that of a self-contained and self-sufficient universe, with no outlook into or links with anything beyond, uninfluenced by any life or mind except such as is connected with a visible and tangible material body; and the other conception, that of a universe lying open to all manner of spiritual influences, permeated through and through with a Divine spirit, guided and watched by living minds, acting through the medium of

law indeed, but with intelligence and love behind the law: a universe by no means self-sufficient or self-contained, but with feelers at every pore groping into another supersensuous order of existence, where reign laws hitherto unimagined by science, but laws as real and as mighty as those by which the material universe is governed. According to the one conception, faith is childish and prayer absurd; the only individual immortality lies in the memory of descendants; kind actions and cheerful acquiescence in fate are the highest religious attributes possible; and the future of the human race is determined by the law of gravitation and the circumstances of space. According to the other conception, prayer may be mighty to the removal of mountains, and by faith we may feel ourselves citizens of an eternal and glorious cosmogony of mutual help and cooperation, advancing from lowly stages to even higher states of happy activity, world without end, and may catch in anticipation some glimpses of that 'one far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves.' The whole controversy hinges, in one sense, on a practical pivot—the efficacy of prayer. Is prayer to hypothetical supersensuous beings as senseless and useless as it is unscientific? or does prayer pierce through the husk and apparent covering of the sensuous universe, and reach something living, loving, and helpful beyond? And in another sense the controversy turns upon a question of fact. Do we live in a universe permeated with life and mind—life and mind independent of matter and unlimited in individual duration? Or is life limited, in space to the surface of masses of matter, and in time to the duration of the material envelope essential to its manifestation?" The article on Matthew Arnold shows us that unhappy soul struggling with the problem of life, tossed on surging seas and laboring heavily, crying out for redemption from man's inward and outward trouble—not from their pressure, which he knew must be, but from their power to enfeeble and enslave the soul; crying out for freedom and salvation to the Power who is with us in the night, and after long-continued inward pain, after trying many diverse ways to escape from the overwhelming problem of life, fleeing at last to God, saying in substance to the Father and Lord of Men, "I do not know Thee clearly, but there is that in my heart which bids me take my chance with Thee."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Brooks by the Traveller's Way. By J. H. JOWETT, M.A. 12mo, pp. 216. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, $1.25.

These twenty-six homiletic studies, which originally appeared in the *Examiner* newspaper, have, in book form, reached a sale of five thousand copies. Not all of them maintain the level of the sermons in *Apostolic Optimism*, already noticed in our pages; yet many of them have a different value of their own for different uses. Averaging less than nine pages, their fragmentariness does not deprive them of a certain individual completeness. Many Scripture passages receive exposition, rather by illumination and application than by analysis or strict exegesis—such practical exposition as might be helpful in devotional services conducted by Dr. R. W. Dale's successor in Birmingham. It is not a book of stories, but of spiritual points. Sprinkled here and there are references like these: "John Ruskin's father would never allow him to gaze upon any inferior picture lest his artistic sense should be impaired." "Wellington used to say that one of the great secrets of successful generalship was the power to imagine what was going on behind a stone wall." "Ruskin said that an unimaginative person can never be either reverent or kind." "In a remarkable article written by Mr. Hutton at the time of Sir Isaac Holden's death the conviction was declared that the extraordinary fertility and inventiveness of Sir Isaac's mind had been fed and nourished by the deep underlying spirituality and nobleness of his life." This last is in a paper showing how every part of man's composite personality receives invigoration and enrichment when the life of God flows into his nature, bringing physical, mental, moral, and spiritual quickening. "John Stuart Mill once wrote, 'The fatal tendency of mankind to leave off thinking about a thing when it is no longer doubtful is the cause of half their errors.' When a man has attained a decided opinion he is too apt to tie a bit of tape around it, put it away in a pigeonhole, and lapse into slumber." "There is a nervous disease known to physicians as chorea; a distemper in which the patient sometimes turns round and round continuously on one spot. Egotism is just such an incessant spinning on one spot. Sometimes the point about which Egotism keeps revolving is one's own abilities or achievements or possessions; sometimes it is one's own losses, sufferings, injuries. Some sufferers like to take the bandages off, show their wounds, and fix attention on them." A good specimen of these brief homilies is that on the Centurion mentioned in Luke vii, 2. This centurion is an educated Roman; therefore we anticipate that he will be unsentimental, severely secular, crushing out all inclination

to the mystical. He is a Roman soldier; therefore we anticipate that he may be proud, domineering, peremptory, hard. He is a Roman slave owner; therefore we expect him to be supercilious, unscrupulous, inconsiderate, brutal. Instead of which, the educated Roman is reverent and worshipful; the soldier is delicately sensitive; the slaveholder is gentle and sympathetic. Out of this man's heart flow rivers of rich and generous sympathy, rivers which overflow many strong and high barriers and refuse to be limited. 1. *Barriers of caste and class are overpassed.* There was a "slave who was dear unto him." Centurion and servant are one in the bonds of affliction. The servant's ailment is the master's grief. They were so close-knit with sensitive nerves that the pains and joys of one throbbed and thrilled in the mind and heart of the other. The intercourse of master and servant was a fellowship. 2. *Barriers of race are overpassed.* "He loveth our nation." What! The Roman loving the Jew? A citizen of imperial Rome, center of splendor and world-wide dominion, loving the petty, provincial, unattractive, and despised Jew? A rare and noble patriot is he who can love his own nation without hating other nations. The high example of this Roman centurion calls down to some Christians who hate the Jews, "Come up higher!" The Jew was probably no less repellent then than now, yet this Roman soldier loved that oppressed and down-trodden people. Loyalty to one's own people should be accompanied by justice and kindness to all other peoples. 3. *Ecclesiastical barriers are overpassed.* He "built us a synagogue." This Roman sees beauty and worth in the Jewish worship. He feels interest and respect for the religious aspirations and manifestations of those who worship under different forms and a different creed from his own. Rather than interfere with their worship by burning their synagogue, he will promote it by building one. You could not make a harsh sectarian or narrow bigot out of him. A devout spirit or act commands his reverence and friendship, no matter where it appears. And now this man of wide-overflowing sympathies and large love is, 1. *A man of profound humility.* That is not a mere coincidence, but an inevitable moral consequence. Sympathy creates humility. Large sympathy—deep humility! No sympathy—colossal self-conceit! Large sympathy means vision, comprehension, spacious outlook. Absence of sympathy means absence of vision, want of comprehension, life confined to one's own small courtyard. A man of no sympathy is pretty sure to be an egotist. He lives in a world so small that he pretty much fills it. His world gives him no correct standards of measurement. He cannot comprehend the greatness of others, and so he swells up with self-conceit. He lacks vision, understanding, a table of weights and measures, scales and balances. So he has no sense of proportion. He thinks of himself more highly than he ought to think. His cosmos is principally ego. When a man has the vision which sympathy gives he sees around him wide populous spaces which extend

afar, he becomes sensible of his large associations, he comprehends the natures and lives of other men. By interested and sympathetic consideration he comes to know his fellow-men. Comparison with them gives him self-knowledge. And self-conceit subsides into a healthy and humble and just self-respect. Yes, sympathy finds the key to life's proportions, and therefore brings humility. So it is not strange that this centurion, whose sympathies went out to the slave, to foreigners, and to people of an alien religion, should appear void of self-conceit, profoundly humble, and should say, "I am not worthy that Thou shouldest come under my roof;"—"I am not worthy." This man of large sympathy is, 2. *A man of fine discernment.* A nature without sympathy and humility presents a hard, insensitive surface. A sympathetic and humble nature is sensitive, and, like the photographer's most exquisite plate, will receive and record the finest impressions of light and shade. Its surface-nerves are alive, alert, reactive to stimuli, and can sense the quality of surrounding personalities and things. It is written, "The humble shall hear." Yes, "shall hear" and shall know. How the sensitiveness which love gives can detect and identify a footfall! (And love is always humble toward its object—never proud.) "That is my husband coming." "How do you know?" "O, I know his step, I know the way he opens the door." And "the humble shall hear." They shall discern the approach of the highest. They shall know the Lord's footfall when He is moving about in their lives. They shall hear and recognize His knock when He taps on the door of their hearts. No wonder this humble, sympathetic centurion was a discerner of spirits. No wonder he felt in his inmost soul the uncommonness of the Christ—the singular majesty of Jesus. No wonder his spirit trembled with reverence before that Presence and its divine effluence, as the leaves of the silver birch quiver in the wind of dawn. "I am not worthy that *Thou* shouldest come!" "THOU!" He discerned the Lord. He recognized the King in His beauty. He knew Greatness when he met it. Sympathy, humility, discernment go together. A still sweeter meditation is on the words, "He calleth . . . by name" (John x, 3). The unit is not lost in the mass. The personalities are discriminated. We are not manufactured articles, cast in a common mold and all alike. Every human being is unique and original, a distinguishable individuality, and entitled to a distinct name of his own. Under each name lies a microcosm, a little world, a special problem, a peculiar case, needing its special treatment. Said the mother of six children, "No two of them are alike; I have to use a different rule with every one of them." One of the pains of personal life is the consciousness of personal peculiarities. A Saviour and Lord knowing us individually, perceiving our peculiar needs, and adapting to them His ministry of mercy and grace, is our comfort. "He calleth his own . . . by name." That was true of Him in the days of His natural life in the flesh. He knew individuals in their inmost quality, and His words to each one

fitted very close. But we mark that it was no less true of Him after His death and resurrection. The risen Lord, triumphant over the grave, still "calleth His own by name." "Mary," "Thomas," "Simon," He says. He knows each one of them, and all the character and history lying under each name. "Jesus saith unto her, 'MARY;'" and there He is comforting a mourner; assuaging the pain of bereavement. "Mary stood without at the sepulcher weeping, and as she wept . . . 'Mary!'" the dear Voice said; and all the tender past was in its tone; and all the imperishable love was in it, unchanged by death and burial; and in it was the assurance that the old love was to be an eternal part of His glorified life. And the weeping woman knew, "I am still Mary to Him, and He is my friend, my Lord and Master." Again, "THOMAS, reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand and thrust it into my side." I don't think Thomas ever did it. The record reads to me as though he broke in quickly with the interruption, "My Lord and my God." The voice of Jesus calling him by name and the eye of his Master looking him through were evidence enough for him. That incomparable Presence standing in the midst of that recreant band, and saying to the disciples who "all foorsook Him and fled," "Peace be unto you!" was proof positive for Thomas. Not the nail-prints but the gracious presence of the risen Lord, His voice, His look, the breathing of His spirit on that little company in the upper room, were what convinced Thomas, and made him know his Lord as he was known by Him. He could say "My Lord" so soon as Jesus said "Thomas." Doubt and misgiving fled when he heard himself called by name. And, once again, "Jesus saith to Simon Peter, 'SIMON!'" Just behind the man thus spoken to there was a dark, disgraceful yesterday of denial. Peter was a coward, a liar, a traitor. It is an awful thing for such a wretch to hear himself called by name. What can it portend but arrest, condemnation, and punishment? But the Voice talks of love. "Simon, lovest thou Me?" Jesus saw the bitter penitence and shame in Peter's soul, and the welling love that was gushing from the cleft of his broken heart, and He knew that an open confession and avowal of that love was all that was necessary to complete the restoration of the old relationship between Peter and his Saviour. He called him by name, "Simon!" And Peter's heart leaped to answer, "Yea, Lord." And all was well. The alienation was over. There was no hour after that when Peter was not ready to die at any moment for his Lord.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. By the Rev. WILLIAM SANDAY, D.D., LL.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and the Rev. ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, B.D., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. Sixth Edition. Crown 8vo, pp. cxii, 436. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901. Price, cloth, $3.

The modern commentary is both a necessity and a luxury to the serious biblical student. Such splendid work as Professor J. B.

Mayor has done on the Epistle of James and Professor H. B. Swete has done on the Gospel of Mark, have set very high standards in all that goes to the making of a complete commentary. The previous volumes of the "International Critical Commentary" have uniformly attained easy rank with these, and the Romans keeps pace with the rest. For years Professor Sanday has been lecturing in the university schools and at Christ Church, Oxford, on this sublime epistle, and Mr. Headlam is only one of hundreds of eager hearers who have profited by and proclaimed the teaching of this master in Irsael. That six editions of this work have been called for within six years is suggestive of the undying interest the reading world feels in the writings of Paul and in any new things that may possibly be written about them. Speaking of the Epistle to the Romans, the editors well say that "There are few books which it is more difficult to exhaust, and few in regard to which there is more to be gained from renewed interpretation by different minds working under different conditions. If it is an historical fact that the spiritual revivals of Christendom have been usually associated with a closer study of the Bible, this would be true in an eminent degree of the Epistle to the Romans." The introduction to the epistle, which comprises one fifth of the volume, is the most luminous and complete discussion of such questions as Rome in A. D. 58, the Jews in Rome, the Roman Church, time, place, occasion, purpose, argument, language, style and literary history of the Epistle, that could well be packed into one hundred and twelve closely printed pages. As to the origin of the Church in Rome, our commentators reject both the view that it was founded by Jewish pilgrims from the first Pentecost and that its true founder was St. Peter, and hold that it sprang from the gathering together of numerous groups of Christians at Rome, "some from Palestine, some from Corinth, and some from Ephesus and other parts of proconsular Asia, possibly some from Tarsus and more from the Syrian Antioch" as is easily seen from the data in chapter sixteen which they confidently accept as an integral part of the epistle. It is with satisfaction that one notes ever and anon the critical massing of facts "enough to dispose of the *doctrinaire objections* which have been brought against this epistle." Against the very general opinion that the epistle is "rather a theological treatise than a letter," or is "a compendium of the whole of Christian doctrine," they claim that three factors have gone to its shaping: first, the apostle's real knowledge of the state of the church to which he was writing; second, his appeal to a common basis of Christian teaching which he is able to take for granted as already known to his readers. Hence it is that just the most fundamental doctrines—the divine Lordship of Christ, the value of his death, the nature of the sacraments—are assumed rather than stated or proved. But, thirdly, "the most powerful of all the influences which have shaped the contents of the epistle is the *experience* of the writer." "The apostle has reached another turn-

ing point in his career. He is going up to Jerusalem, not knowing what will befall him there, but prepared for the worst. He is aware that the step which he is taking is highly critical, and he has no confidence that he will escape with his life. This gives an added solemnity to his utterance, and it is natural that he should cast back his glance over years which had passed since he became a Christian and sum up the result as he felt it for himself. It is not exactly a conscious summing up, but it is the momentum of this past experience which guides his pen. Deep in the background of all his thought lies that one great event which brought him within the fold of Christ. For him it had been nothing less than a revolution, and it fixed permanently his conception of the new forces which came with Christianity into the world." Thus "it is no merely abstract disquisition, but a letter full of direct human interest in the persons to whom it is written," . . . while "the main theme of the letter is the gathering in of the harvest, at once of the Church's history since the departure of its Master and of the individual history of a single soul, that one soul which, under God, had had the most active share in making the course of external events what it was." "The really fundamental passages in the epistle are pointed out to be: Chapter i, 16, 17, which states the problem—the great thesis—How is righteousness to be attained? Not by man's work, but by God's gift through faith or loyal attachment to Christ. Chapter iii, 21-26, which presents the solution (1) in its relation to law, independent of it yet attested by it, (2) in its universality, as the free gift of God, (3) in the method of its realization, through the propitiatory death of Christ, which occupies under the new dispensation the same place which sacrifice, especially the ceremonies of the day of atonement occupied under the old, and (4) in its final cause—the twofold manifestation of God's righteousness, at once asserting itself against sin and conveying pardon to the sinner. The next fundamental passage is chapter vi, 1-14, where Progressive Righteousness in the Christian or Sanctification is discussed and the immediate matter is Paul's reply to the casuistical objection: if more sin means more grace why not go on sinning? The immersion of baptism carried with it a death to sin and union with the risen Christ. The Christian therefore cannot, must not, sin. Lastly, chapter viii, 1-30, gives a perspective of the Christian's new career. "For this, as for the masterly exposition of the entire epistle, the reader must be referred to the Commentary itself."

Behold the Man. By FRANZ DELITZSCH. Translated by ELIZABETH C. VINCENT. 16mo, pp. 25. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Price, cloth, 25 cents.

This is not a recent publication. Canon Farrar in his *Life of Christ* acknowledged its sacred charm, and its perfume abides like that of a nonvolatile oil. In it an eminent German theologian pictures from his knowledge and his imagination what manner of man Jesus was. "O what abundant grace," thinks this great biblicist, "O

what abundant grace came like the showers of May upon every heart which received His word and comfort, when Christ went through the fields and by the wayside!" And then Delitzsch, imagining himself in Galilee in the days of the Son of Man, says: "Here between Kana of Galilee and Kefar Kenna we will wait; here on this knoll of rising ground let us lie down and look at the cornfields; here He must pass, for this is the way which leads through plains and valleys and blooming fields down to the sea of Tiberias, which He so dearly loves to visit." Then, seeing the Man of Nazareth approaching, surrounded and followed by wondering multitudes, he thus describes His appearance: "He is a man of middle stature, in whom youth is not yet lost in age. Its purity and sweetness is like that of a rose, and is mingled with the maturity and decision of manhood. His complexion is lighter than those of the men around Him, who have the browner coloring of their race. He is pale, whiter even than His 'keffiyeh,' and without the freshness of health. The cut of His features is not peculiarly Jewish, but seems a mixture of the Jewish and Greek types. His countenance, so majestic, yet gracious, commands reverence, while it awakens love; and His eyes, seeming to look through tears, shine with a mild light. His attitude is slightly bowed, as if absorbed in thought, and His movements are not awkward or careless, but unmistakably noble and graceful, as those of an unacknowledged king in the garments of a beggar. This is Jesus!" After twenty pages of devout meditations Delitzsch ends his beautiful tract with this account of the vicarious sufferings of Him who, though he was rich, yet for our sakes became poor, that we through His poverty might be made rich: "In a cave which served for a stable He greeted this life. A manger was His cradle. His mother brought to the Temple the dove-offering of the poor. Gifts of the Magi made the flight into Egypt possible. Brought back from there, He grew up in Nazareth, a little mountain village, removed from any highway to the city or sea. He went about the country as a traveling teacher with only poor men for His attendants. With the words, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit,' He began His work as a preacher, and that the poor should have the Gospel preached to them was predicted long before as one of the first signs of His approaching Kingdom. In the third year of His ministry He was betrayed by one of His own disciples, for thirty pieces of silver, the price of a slave. Roman soldiers offered Him, as a half idiot, supposing Himself to be a Jewish king, a mocking homage, and then struck Him in the face, with the sneer, 'Behold the man!' Pilate led forth before the people the Scourged One, His eyes bandaged in derision. Maddened by His evident superiority, they yelled in reply, 'Crucify Him! Crucify Him!' And thus He suffered the death with which in the Roman plays the meanest slaves are threatened, and to which only the most degraded criminals are condemned. Banished beyond the camp of Israel, delivered up to heathen men, accursed of God, He was nailed to the

shameful cross. His clothes were stripped from His body, and four Roman soldiers divided them as spoils before His dying eyes; and then they cast lots for His purple robe. He hung between heaven and earth, a despicable spectacle to His enemies, but a heavenly and heart-rending one to His friends. The wine and myrrh, which the compassionate women of Jerusalem supplied for malefactors at their execution in order to stupefy them, He refused, and took vinegar instead. When His parched tongue was thus moistened He cried out, 'It is finished,' and bowed His head and died. Although He once gave His life for us, still this self-oblation has no end. His body, pierced by a spear, poured forth blood and water, which is the life-spring of His holy Church. And so has He borne all things—so has He given all things for us! Obedient unto death, He has fully secured to us eternal life. His Blood has atoned for our sins, and by His wounds we are healed. His cross welds together heaven and earth, and His Body is the seed whence shall grow a sinless and blessed humanity. O brethren and friends! Let us look straight and fixedly into His dying eyes, until our selfishness dies too. Let us embrace His death-cold feet, until all love of the world shall expire in us. Let us learn love from this human, crucified Love which bled to death for us when we deserved nothing of such a Love!"

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Nature and Character at Granite Bay. By DANIEL A. GOODSELL. Crown 8vo, pp. 219. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati; Jennings & Pye. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.50.

Not a volume of Gifford Lectures, yet, like Professor Royce's, dealing with the World and the Individual, though in the concrete, not in the abstract, giving not metaphysics but life. From the days of John Dickins until now, so far as we know, no such book as this has appeared on the list of Book Concern publications. A charm and fascination all its own account for its popularity, already extensive and likely to spread and persist, because its interest is perennial and its fragrance involatile. By one bright woman it was read through twice in quick succession. And readers will return to it repeatedly with something of the zest which the bishop's family feel from year to year in revisiting the one spot on earth where this itinerant superintendent can continuously claim domiciliary rights though no abiding habitation, since he and his belong to the migrants who arrive from southward with the summer and with it depart. We know of no more choice and racy gift book for holidays, birthdays, or friendly interchange, suitable for people of all ages, tastes, and conditions. Its style, as a just critic says, is "singularly beautiful," translucent, sparkling, delicious; a native gift for felicitous phrasing appears in many an exquisite turn, and a genial humor softly shakes the shapely

sentences now and then. Its Nature studies associate it with Thoreau, John Burroughs, and Henry van Dyke, and are no less engaging. Its Character studies are the work of an observant, intuitive, and brooding mind exercising its power of sympathetic and intimate comprehension upon human nature, and sketching, with the facile skill of a practiced free-hand drawer, profiles and portraits accurate in outline and lifelike in expression. Beguiling as the book is, two serious aims, which it successfully accomplishes, are thus stated by the author: 1. "To show that a half-acre near a large city may become of absorbing interest and intellectual profit to anyone who has ordinary powers of observation, small scientific knowledge, and limited time." 2. "To demonstrate to my younger brethren in the Christian ministry that it is well to study and affiliate with the plainest people among whom we live; these, and not the favored, possessing chiefly the characteristics which reward study, namely, originality, unique experience, true and self-sacrifiing sympathy, and the joys of growth and conquest." The careful chronicler of these pages recites no doubtful tales, nor puts a strain on our credulity, yet vividly shows us more of enlivening wonder in one small community than most men would find in the events and annals of a province. Granite Bay, with its loves, aspirations, struggles, failures, mysteries, and tragedies, is a palpitating microcosm, exhibiting all the elemental traits of human character diversified by piquant idiosyncrasies, and illustrating as well as larger and more artificial spheres the truth of Tennyson's Grandmother's words, "Shadow and shine is life, Little Annie, flower and thorn." The title of the first six chapters, "The Drawing of Granite Bay," gives no hint of their rich and varied contents. "The Mental Contents of an Egg," "The Mind of a Dog," and "Subhuman Neighbors" are titles more definitely suggestive. The last eight chapters are a portrait gallery where Bishop Goodsell exhibits his pictures of "The Fisherman," "The Giant," "Sugar," "Our Genius," "The Hermit," "The Mystery," "The Silent Man," and "The Doorkeeper." Twenty-two photographic illustrations present to the eye the scenes and persons which the book describes to the imagination. One of these shows us Daniel A. Goodsell "fishing by proxy," and the whole book reflects to us the unofficial man as he lives and loves and ministers in the small community at Granite Bay, fraternizing genially and usefully with his human and subhuman neighbors, and qualifying himself to Boswellize appreciatingly in this volume the little Johnsons of that secluded society. The lenience of many midsummers has given us this vitascopic picture of a recuperating bishop's fertile life in a comparatively quiet retreat from the loopholes of which he may faintly hear the noise of the great babel without being jarred or jostled by its stir; a retreat where he is the lord of a half-acre of granite bluff which rises out of Long Island Sound and offers its brink as a doorstep to his cottage; where nobody leaps into the air with the

appealing or peremptory cry of "Mr. Chairman!" or raises points of order, or demands a law-ruling, or arrests the free flow of thought and language and checks spontaneity of action by Dr. Lanahan's Previous Question; where committees cease from troubling and the Bishop is at rest, except when some unseasonable emergency sends a needy petitioner to disturb his brief quiet. Upon this half-acre of shore with its surrounding acres of land and leagues of salt water, the reader watches the ways of the multitudinous creatures inhabiting earth and air and waters, and hears much of weather-lore, sea-lore, and fishermen's habits, notions, and experiences. We know no more graphic pictures of original characters among shore folk than this book gives us. There is "The Mystery," who when he failed to come to work claimed to be disabled by "hemorrhages;" but, as these were usually preceded by visits to Oldport, Bishop Goodsell fears the word was a euphemism for that form of prostration which follows experimenting with *spiritus frumenti*. "It was after these 'hemorrhages,'" says the Bishop, "that he would think himself dying and send for me to pray with him. I never failed to go. Not that I could feel that his moral fiber was strong enough to make either penitence or prayer long helpful. But certainly he mourned his infirmity with tears, and, though claiming to be sick when sending for me to pray with him, did not conceal the real cause after I reached him." There is "The Silent Man," who went mad and gave the Bishop the most agonizing watch of his life, a watch prolonged through a day and a night. A most exciting story it is. It was in the maniac's own house. The climax of the Bishop's share in the long struggle is described as follows: [They had forced the lunatic into an upstairs room, and locked the door. He soon broke the lock and appeared at the head of the stairs.] "I could neither run away nor wrestle with him on the stairs. It was a quick thought to snatch the horsewhip and be ready for him at the foot of the stairs. He saw I was there and hurled down a tempest of boots, firewood, chairs, and bureau drawers, and began to come down himself. I thrashed the stairs with the whip and shouted, 'I'll whip you within an inch of your life if you come down.' He halted. This was my time. Thrashing the air, I went up, and he went whimpering back to his room." Later in the night the lunatic leaped naked out of an upstairs window and went racing off across the snow. Among the characters in this photograph gallery is "Sugar." Heaven bless and keep the brave girl! We wonder, has she ever seen her story and her picture in this book, and does she know that she numbers among her admirers a bishop and a host of his readers? The best of us may possibly learn something from the simple folk of Granite Bay. That amazingly versatile, facile, and agile Scandinavian Yankee, "Our Genius," sets us a high example in making the most of himself by stirring up to the utmost his multiplicity of gifts. And it is not inconceivable that even some

entirely sanctified persons might learn some new lesson in saintliness from "The Doorkeeper," who closes the door of this picture book. She was such a character as made the fisherman who owned the room she occupied say: "I don't care whether she pays rent or not. It is pay enough to see her there on the porch." Here is one of her sayings: "My Lord suffered more in a moment than I in a lifetime. . . . My soul is not crippled, only my body. I am penned in my chair, but my soul goes everywhere. When I am released I shall be free for the first time; so I must fit my spirit for the coming life. If I can be patient and loving here I shall have something to take with me there." In this diversified, genial, and vivid book, so full of life and color, there is nothing about presiding elders or Annual Conferences, but we seem to overhear some domestic cabinet sessions, and there is at one point a dim suspicion of a man who declined to accept his appointment. We surmise that every householder who has ever declined, as mildly as he might, yet as peremptorily as he must, to go downstairs in the small hours of the night to see if burglars were in the house, will seize the opportunity here afforded to shelter himself and his reputation for valor behind the welcome precedent set by our distinguished author in his naïve confession of masterly inactivity in presence of the housewife's prodding. Thus, in this, as in many another particular in this unique volume, is Bishop Goodsell a benefactor of his fellow-men. Wisdom, sunshine, and pathos suffuse *Nature and Character at Granite Bay*, while here and there a page is illumined at its margin with an undergleam of gentle wit, like heat-lightning winking up from under the horizon of a summer night.

Robert Browning as a Religious Teacher. By ARTHUR CECIL PIGOU, B.A., Scholar of King's College. 8vo, pp. 132. London: C. J. Clay & Sons. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The essay, here divided into nine chapters, won the Burney Prize for the year 1900 at Cambridge University. It covers much the same ground with, and is somewhat indebted to, Professor Jones's book on *Robert Browning as a Religious and Philosophical Teacher*, but the principal sources to which it goes for information are Browning's poems and his *Essay on Shelley*. From the chapter on "The Conception of Deity" we quote the following: "Browning speaks of his knowledge of God's existence as the result of direct intuition. The fact of his own existence is to him incontrovertibly certain, but it is as inconceivable apart from the existence of a Cause as is the idea of a circumference apart from a center, or of an angle without inclosing sides. With his immediate knowledge of himself, the knowledge of a Cause is involved, appearing as a presupposition of all his reasoning, rather than as a result of it. For him, as for J. H. Newman, there are two and only two supreme and luminously self-evident beings in the universe—himself and his Creator. His belief that 'Before me was my Cause

that's styled God' does not depend upon any deductive process, but, like the knowledge of his own existence, is immediate and direct. Though everything else were doubtful, and knowledge were to fail in every other respect, at this one point he stands upon the firm rock of reality. And it is not God's existence merely, but His immediate presence that is intuitively perceived; so that it is as unnecessary for Browning to argue about God's being as it would be for him to prove the existence of a friend with whom he was in daily converse. His attitude is that of one who stands face to face with God in the sanctuary where spirit meets with Spirit. . . . Furthermore, Browning presupposes, as a necessary relation between Cause and effect, that the latter cannot be greater than the former. This being granted, it becomes possible to draw up a kind of minimum presentation of God, to which He, at all events, is not inferior. Whatever noble or exalted qualities exist in man must exist, in at least equal fullness, in his Maker; and to whatever heights God's works or creatures may rise, He Himself must equal or surpass them. In this way the poet argues from his highest ideal to the God who made it. Since that ideal is God's work, it cannot be greater than He is. Man's knowledge of God is acknowledged to be imperfect. "Absolute vision is not for this world, but we are permitted a continual approximation to it." We may "creep ever on from fancies to the fact." Day after day man gets increase of knowledge, and "learns because he lives, which is to be a man." The attributes of Browning's God are stated in Ferishtah's words: "God is all-good, all-wise, all-powerful." The power and wisdom are manifest in His works; the goodness, or love, is not so plain at first. It is only at the end of life that Rabbi Ben Ezra can say, "I who saw Power, see now Love perfect too;" and Browning speaking in his own person in one of his latest poems says:

> From the first, Power was—I knew;
> *Life has made clear to me*
> That, strive but for closer view,
> Love were as plain to see.

He cries out, "God, thou art love! I build my faith on that;" and he was as firmly persuaded as St. Paul that "neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God." He argues that, if God were not loving, He would be inferior to the ideal which He has inspired in man, and inferior to man himself. Nay, he even writes:

> A loving worm within its clod
> Were diviner than a loveless God
> Among His worlds, I will dare to say.

By similar reasonings Browning moves on to the conclusion that the All-loving must be capable of self-sacrifice, and that, since it is

only in suffering that the height of self-sacrifice is reached, nothing is more reasonable than that God should somehow, in very fact, suffer for men. And here the poet is in sight of Calvary. Further, he holds that the divine self-sacrifice must be unlimited, otherwise it would fall short of our ideal of moral grandeur. Consequently, Christ's transcendent act cannot be confined to "the space of half an hour," or even within "the sinless years that breathed beneath the Syrian blue;" but the Agony in the Garden expands throughout the ages, and becomes a "divine instance of self-sacrifice which never ends." The face of the Crucified stirs from the fixed point assigned to it in time, and neither falters before the gaze of philosophy, nor dissolves at the bidding of historical criticism, nor dwindles across the darkness of twenty centuries, but rather "grows, and decomposes but to recompose, becomes my universe that feels and knows." The Author of our salvation is still, in every moment as it passes, made perfect by suffering.

> Is not God now i' the world His power first made?
> Is not His love at issue still with sin,
> Visibly when a wrong is done on earth?

The doctrine of the never-ending self-sacrifice of a loving God appears to Browning as one of those deeper truths which set aside "speech, act, time, place indeed, but bring nakedly forward now the principle of things," and are deducible as much from the ideals of his own heart as from historical evidence. As to what Browning considered most fundamental in the purely historical doctrines of Christianity, our author says: "In the light of 'Saul,' 'Christmas Eve,' and the conclusion of 'An Epistle from Karshish,' Browning's conviction may be expressed in the words of St. Paul, that 'Christ Jesus, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made Himself of no reputation and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross.'" Browning is evidently in personal sympathy with those men and women, among the characters in his works, who are believers in the Gospel history, such as the Pope, St. John, Pamphylax, David, Pompilia, Caponsacchi, the hero of "Christmas Eve," and one who is prepared to answer Renan. Among our poet's utterances of Christian belief, none seems to us more positive than this, from "A Death in the Desert:"

> I say, the acknowledgment of God in Christ
> Accepted by thy reason, solves for thee
> All questions in the earth or out of it,
> And hath so far advanced thee to be wise.

In addition to the evidence afforded by his poems, there are two favorite sayings quoted by Mrs. Orr, and referred to by the Burney Prize-winner, which give further proof. "Browning was fond of

declaring in Charles Lamb's words, 'If Shakespeare were to come into the room, we should all rise to meet him; but if that Person (meaning Christ) were to come into the room, we should all fall down and try to kiss the hem of His garment;' and again in Napoleon's words, 'I am an understander of men, and He was no man.' . . . The general attitude of Browning's mind seems to have been one of acquaintance in the theology and in the fundamental historical doctrines of Christianity." Browning's answer to the Schopenhauer school of pessimists was the retort, which Professor Ward also makes, that they themselves do not really follow out the logic of their own creed: "I live my own life, yours you dare not live," he says. Though they profess to believe that "the will to live is the core of reality, that life itself is evil, and that man is its most conspicuous phenomenon," they nevertheless continue to enjoy the existence they so unreasonably condemn, and refrain from taking the obvious and easy means of leaving it. Reverting for a moment to Browning's doctrine of love, Professor Jones tells us that this doctrine is the richest vein of pure ore in his poetry, the imperial chord that underlies the whole of his work. It sounds in the words of Norbert in "In a Balcony:"

> There is no good of life but love—but love!
> What else looks good is some shade flung from love.
> Love gilds it, gives it worth.

This poet of the nineteenth century rests his soul in the teachings of the first and bows his head before that royal truth which was crowned so long ago: "Beloved, let us love one another; for love is of God; and everyone that loveth is begotten of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not, knoweth not God, for God is love." Browning's ethical system is based on a direct relation to and intercommunication with God. He finds a revelation of the will of God in the pleadings of conscience, so that, if asked why he ought to do what he thinks he ought to do, he would reply, "Because my ideal of duty is given me by God, with whom it is self-evident to me that I ought to try to cooperate." In one of Ferishtah's lyrics he says, "I looked beyond the world for truth and beauty; sought, found, and did my duty." In following the moral ideal within him, he is fulfilling the plain duty of cooperating with God, and not thwarting His purpose in creation. Looking up into heaven, Browning's imagination sees through the cloud-rift the great multitude of the faithful souls, who have entered into victory, and he fancies them saying in virile idiom:

> Was it for mere fool's play, make-believe and mumming,
> That we battled it like men, not boylike sulked and whined?
> No, each of us heard clang God's "Come!" and each was coming;
> Soldiers all, to foward face, not sneaks to lag behind!

The above is a brief digest of part of Mr. Pigou's essay on the religious teachings of a poet who believed in soul, was very sure of God.

Relations of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind. By JAMES BRYCE, D.C.L. 8vo, pp. 46. London and New York: Henry Frowde. Price, paper pamphlet, 70 cents.

This is the Romanes Lecture for 1902, and was delivered in the Sheldonian Theater, Oxford, last June. The eminent fitness of the distinguished lecturer to present this particular subject cannot be questioned, and it insures a wise and comprehensive discussion, marked by fullness of knowledge, experienced judgment, and a practical, as opposed to a theorizing, temper. It begins by saying that man's exploration of the planet he inhabits is now nearly finished. Civilized man knows his home, its character and resources, actual and potential, the height of its mountains, the depth of its seas, the habits of its currents in ocean and in air. But, also, he knows the inhabitants of the earth, the races with their history, aptitudes, peculiarities, and habits. The conditions likely to affect the relative development of the various branches of mankind are so far known that they may be dealt with in a positive, practical, and scientific way. With this fuller knowledge of the families of Man has come closer contact of those families with one another, and in particular of the more advanced and civilized races with the more backward, a contact so much closer than the past has seen as to mark a crisis in the history of the world which must affect profoundly the destiny of all mankind. All the backward races of the world have now been placed in more or less complete dependence upon the more advanced. India, Northern Asia, the whole of Africa, Madagascar, the Indian and Polynesian archipelagoes, and the Philippine Islands now own civilized masters of European stock, as do all the aboriginal races of America. Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Siam, and in a sense even China, are now overshadowed and to some extent controlled by European powers. The passing of the uncivilized and semicivilized races under the influence of civilized Powers gives the world a new kind of unity, and opens a new stage in World-history—a stage the significance of which is not yet realized either by the thinker or by the man of action, because the historical thinker overlooks the present in his study of the past and the man of action is so much occupied by the present as to forget what the past has to teach him. Mr. Bryce goes straight to the facts and problems which the contact of diverse races brings into being. He says that when two races differing in strength come into political or social contact one of four possible results follows: either the weaker race dies out before the stronger, or it is absorbed into the stronger, the latter remaining practically unaffected, or the two become commingled into something different from what either was before, or, finally, the two continue to dwell together unmixed, each preserving a character of its own. Instances of the destruction of a race are the vanishing of the Red Indians from North America, the dying out of the aborigines of Tasmania thirty years ago, the extinction of the Bushmen in South Africa and the

Veddas of Ceylon. Instances of absorption are the Celts of Britain absorbed by their Iberian predecessors, the absorption of the tribes of the Caucasus by the Russians, the absorption of certain Slavs and of the Albanian Toskhs by the Greeks in the eighth century and later. By these processes of extinction and absorption more than half of the tribes and peoples that existed when authentic history begins seem to have vanished. The vanishing process goes on. Of the ten peoples now inhabiting the mountain fastnesses of the Caucasus not one may be left a century hence. Every decade sees some tribe or race engulfed in the rising tide of the great peoples. The number of languages and of nationalities is constantly diminishing. All the great peoples of the world are the result of a mixing of races. France has been formed by a blending of Gauls, Iberians, and Teutons; Germany, by Teutons, Slavs, and Celts; Russia, by Slavs, Finns, and tribes of Turkic or Mongolic stock. The largest of all civilized nations, that which inhabits the temperate parts of North America, was a product originally of diverse sources, and has in the last seventy years received such enormous accretions from almost all countries and races that it is now the most mixed race known to history. This blending of strengths contributes to vigor. Where two races are physiologically near to each other the result of a blending of bloods is good, as was seen in the blending of a German with a Norse or Danish stock in the lands between the Trent and the Moray Firth; in the blending of Celts and Teutons in Western Britain, Northeastern Ireland, Northeastern France, and Western Switzerland; and in the mixture of Slavs and Teutons in Northern and Eastern Germany. But a mixture like that of whites and negroes seldom shows good results; although, says Mr. Bryce, "a man of brilliant gifts sometimes comes from that mixture. Alexander Dumas, a writer of unsurpassed fertility of imagination, was a mulatto or a quadroon. And at this moment there is living in the United States the son of a white father and negro mother, himself born in slavery, who is one of the most remarkable personalities and perhaps the most moving and persuasive orator in that nation of eighty millions. And Mexico has been ruled for a quarter of a century, with equal vigor and wisdom, by a man of mixed Indian and Spanish blood, who ranks among the five or six leading figures of our time. . . . The wisest men among the colored people of the Southern States do not desire the intermarriage of their race with the whites. They prefer to develop as a separate people on their own lines, though, of course, by the help of the whites. The negro race in America is not wanting in intelligence. It is fond of learning, and has already made a remarkable advance. It will cultivate self-respect and the respect of mankind better by standing on its own feet than by seeking blood alliances with whites, who would usually be of the meaner sort. . . . Brazil may see Portuguese whites blent into one with the blacks; and a similar complete blending of the Spaniards of Central and South America with the

Indian population; but the Teutonic races, as well as the French, seem likely to keep their blood quite distinct from all the colored races, whether in Asia, Africa, or the Americas." Mr. Bryce discusses our race problem in the Southern States at some length, and with such entire fairness as might be expected from a great and wise Englishman. He asks, "When ordinary virtue fails, why does not religion come in to bridge the gulf between two races, both of whom, as in the Southern States, worship the same God? Christianity has proclaimed in the most solemn and exalted terms the absolute equality and brotherhood of all men. The precepts Christianity delivers might have been expected to soften the feelings and tame the pride of the stronger race. But Christianity, though it brought from without devoted missionaries and such a band of noble and self-sacrificing women as went after the war to the Southern States to teach the freedmen, has yet failed to impress the lesson of human equality and brotherhood upon the whites established in that country. Their scornful sense of superiority resists the precepts of Christianity. . . . The tremendous problem presented by the Southern States of America, and the likelihood that similar problems will have to be solved elsewhere, as, for instance, in South Africa and the Philippine Islands, bid us ask, What should be the duty and policy of a dominant race where it cannot fuse with a backward race? Duty and policy are one, for it is equally the interest of both races that their relations should be friendly, as is the case between the whites and the Maoris in New Zealand. The answer seems to be that, as regards political rights, race and blood should not be made the ground of discrimination. Where the bulk of the colored race are obviously unfit for political power a qualification based on property and education might permit the upper section of that race to enjoy the suffrage. Such a qualification would exclude the poorest and most ignorant whites, and might on that ground be resisted. But it is better to face this difficulty than to wound and alienate the whole of the colored race by placing them without the pale of civic functions and duties. . . . When the educated portion of the dominant race realize how essential it is to the future of their country that the backward race be helped forward and rendered friendly, their influence will by degrees filter down through the less intelligent masses of the people and efface the scorn now felt for the weaker race." Three statements made by Mr. Bryce are particularly interesting. He says that in dealing with backward races Roman Catholics have been more disposed toward a recognition of equality than have Protestants. He declines to condemn the policy of the Americans and Australians in putting up barriers against the incoming of the Chinese. In the light of history and from a study of Mohammedan tendencies, he thinks it possible, and not improbable, that within two centuries Islam may entirely disappear from the earth. The Romanes Lecture for 1902 from an impartial standpoint gives reasoned and cogent counsel, to which passion and preju-

dico and arrogance may do well to listen respectfully with whatever modicum of intelligence they may chance to possess.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Private Memoirs of Madame Roland. Edited by EDWARD GILPIN JOHNSON. 12mo, pp. 381. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.50.

These autobiographical memoirs of the extraordinary woman who was the soul of the Gironde and the heroine of the French Revolution were written by her in prison when the shadow of the guillotine already covered her, while her husband and her friends were outlaws, tracked from one hiding place to another by foes in whose eyes clemency was a political crime. The first translation was published in London in 1795, two years after her execution. Though often quoted in literature as an authoritative work, this favorite French classic has not for many years been procurable in English. In issuing this fine reprint, with a score of illustrations, the publishers have rendered an acceptable service to the reading public. This brilliant and fascinating woman was the central figure of a group of political dreamers known as the Girondins, who were fired with enthusiasm for reproducing in their own beloved France the republics of classic antiquity. She was the genius and inspirer of the men whose eloquence overthrew the throne and founded the republic. In her we see the earlier and finer characteristics of the Revolution—its quasi-religious enthusiasm, its broad philanthropy, its passion for liberty and social justice, its faith in human nature and the ultimate high destiny of man. Comte Beugnot, who visited Madame Roland during her five months' imprisonment, thus describes her: "Something more than is generally found in the look of woman beamed from her eyes. She often spoke to me through the grating of her cell with the energy and freedom of a great man. She expressed herself with a force, an elegance, a harmony, and a modulation that made of her language a kind of music. I listened with admiring wonder." These extremely candid memoirs reveal Madame Roland's romantic nature and reflect the strange and terrible crisis in which she and her Girondins went to their death. Looking back to youthful years spent as pupil in a convent school, the woman of thirty-nine writes: "It cannot be denied that the Roman Catholic religion, though little suited to a sound mind and an enlightened judgment, accustomed to subject the objects of faith to the rules of reason, is yet well calculated to captivate the imagination, which it strikes by means of the grandiose and awful, while at the same time it captivates the senses by mystic ceremonies." The development of her intelligence in later years delivered her from the illusions and impostures of a chimerical religion, but did not take away her reverence. She writes: "I can still attend church with pleasure if the service be performed with solemnity. When I receive the sacred wafer I recall the words of

Cicero that, to complete the follies of men with respect to the Deity, it only remained for them to transform Him into food and then to devour Him. But I presently forget the quackery of the priests, their ridiculous fables and absurd mysteries, and see only weak mortals uniting together to implore succor from the Supreme Being. The miseries of mankind and the consolatory hope of an omnipotent Repairer of the world's injustice occupy my thoughts. Every extraneous idea is excluded, the passions subside into tranquillity, and my sensitiveness to Duty is quickened. I come away with a chastened and purified heart from a place to which the ignorant and unreflecting crowd resort to adore as God a morsel of bread." Later, in the wild whirl of a frenzied time, she knew not what to believe and thought herself successively Port-Royalist, Cartesian, Stoic, and Deist. Of the atheist she wrote: "He is not in my eyes a bad man, but he is deficient in a certain sense, and his soul does not keep pace with mine. He is unmoved at spectacles most ravishing and he hunts for a syllogism where I am filled with awe and admiration." "The glorious idea of a Divine Creator, whose benign providence watches over the world, and the immortality of the soul, cannot be amiable and splendid chimeras. My soul soars to the vivifying Power that animates all things, to the all-wise Mind that arranges them, to the goodness that invests the world with beauty. And now when thick walls separate me from my loved ones, when society heaps upon us evil after evil as a punishment for having sought its welfare, I look beyond the bounds of life for the reward of our sacrifices and the felicity of reunion." At a time when Madame Roland was especially interested in reading and hearing the sermons of great preachers, recognizing the fact that the eloquence of the pulpit is of a sort to enable the gift of oratory to exhibit itself in greatest splendor, she went to hear a certain Abbé de Beauregard who was in vogue. She thus describes him: "He was a little man, with a powerful voice, and declaimed with wonderful impudence and violence. He retailed commonplaces with the air of inspiration, and supported these by such terrible gesticulations that he persuaded a multitude of people they were very fine. I did not then know that men assembled together in great numbers possess ears rather than judgment; that to astonish is to lead them, and that whosoever assumes the authority to command disposes them to obey. I could not find utterance for my astonishment at the success of this personage. I shall never forget a vulgar man planted directly opposite the pulpit in which Beauregard was displaying his antics, with his eyes fixed on the orator, his mouth wide open, and involuntarily permitting to escape the expression of his stupid admiration in these three words, 'How he sweats!' Behold then the means of imposing upon fools!" In the midst of the dire perils into which France was plunged by the Revolution, the inspirer of the Girondists wrote: "It is not ability that is wanting; that may be found in the streets: it is cor-

rectness of judgment and strength of character. Without these two qualities a man is worthless in extremities. I do not know a better test of these qualities than a revolution." She says: "When I hear the French nation singing and laughing at its own miseries I feel that the English are right in regarding us as children. The miseries of my country torment me. France is become a vast Golgotha of carnage, an arena of horrors, where her children tear and destroy each other." Alas! Madame Roland's stately Plutarchian republic of wisdom and virtue was a vanished dream, and all was mire and blood. At last she cried, in all the pathos and despair of a "Lost Cause:" "Adieu, sublime illusions, generous sacrifices, hopes, happiness, and country. Splendid chimeras, enchanting reveries, by which I was beguiled, Adieu!" How she bore herself on her journey along that "*Via dolorosa* of the Revolution" which led from the prison to the Place de la Guillotine, all the world knows. She stood calm, erect, and smiling in the tumbrel, and tried to cheer her only companion in the death cart, an aged man overcome by the fear of death. As a woman it was her privilege by the custom of the guillotine to die first—it was a French guillotine and extremely polite; but fearing the sight of her blood might intensify the old man's agony of terror she bade the executioner take him first, and when Sanson delayed to obey she urged him: "Come, citizen, you surely cannot deny a lady her last request." So, with her last act one of unselfish consideration for another, the brave Soul of the Gironde went up at the touch of the falling ax. The best history of the French Revolution, and one of the greatest of books, is Carlyle's. As accurate on the whole as any in its facts, it is lurid and tremendous, like its subject.

The Ancient Catholic Church—from the Accession of Trajan to the Fourth General Council [A. D. 98–451]. By ROBERT RAINY, D.D., Principal of New College, Edinburgh. New York: Charles Scribner Sons, 1902. Pp. xii, 539. Price, $2.50.

This is the third book of this venerable author (now seventy-six) in historical theology. His first was a reply to Dean Stanley's brilliant but one-sided lecture on the history of the Church of Scotland, *Three Lectures on the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1872, Fifth Edition, 1884); his second was an able and learned but heavy and dry treatise, *The Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine*, being the Cunningham Lectures for 1874, called out in part by one of the most remarkable books in modern times, *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, by John Henry Newman, 1845, written on the eve of his conversion to Rome. And now Rainy appears in the second of the regular Church History volumes in Briggs and Salmond's International Theological Library, the first being McGiffert's bold—sometimes more bold than reliable—reinterpretations and reconstructions of the earliest Church history in his *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age* (1897). What McGiffert lacked in cautious judgment and sympathy with the supernatural in Chris-

tianity Rainy supplies in a marked degree. One might almost say he is too cautious, so measured and careful in his steps, so impartial, so lacking in enthusiasm and eloquence. But this calmness and objectivity of treatment is reassuring, on the other hand, because we know we are in the hands of a ripe and able scholar, who has gone over this ground again and again, who has weighed what the best English and foreign scholars have done, and who gives the results of a long life of study dispassionately but not uninterestingly. The word Catholic is used in the sense of a Church that was coming into the consciousness of universality, and organizing itself around its presbyters and very soon its bishops, and declaring its faith in simple statements which later became crystallized in the Apostles' Creed. It is evident that the author feels himself more at home in the doctrinal history, as his chapters in this department are the fullest, ablest, and best in the book. It would be hard to find in the same compass a more illuminating and satisfactory treatment of Gnosticism, of Neoplatonism and its relation to Christianity, of the theology of Origen, of the Nicene theology, and of the significance of Pelagius and Augustine. The chapter on Montanism this reviewer has read with great interest, and he believes that on the whole it is justly treated (the author looks upon it with most recent scholars as an honest effort to revive primitive Christianity), though there is apparent in one paragraph a veiled effort to justify the good Presbyterian theory of Church membership. The fact is that poor Montanus, with all his prophets and prophetesses and his emphasis on the new dispensation of the Spirit, was unable to stem the tide of worldliness and externalism that was bearing the Church onward to Catholicism. The early frankness and closeness of relation to God, the early abounding gifts of the Spirit, could not—at least, did not—endure, and Montanus's abortive revival was an evidence that the Church must seek new channels of impression. At this time when it is fashionable to decry the Nicene Christology as Greek metaphysics, as an effort to be wise above what is written, it is refreshing to find a scholar who is not ashamed to say that the Nicene result was a true and necessary one. As to individual opinions on minor points there is not much from which to dissent. Infant baptism is not recognized as apostolic, and finds no certain place even in A. D. 98-180, though in the second century it was beginning to be practiced. The Lord's Supper and the love feast were connected for a long time, but the author does not sufficiently bring out the fact that the Lord's Supper itself was a love feast, a social religious meal. When the author says that the practice of baptizing in the name of Christ simply, which comes into view from time to time, "was always rather questionable," he departs from his usual accuracy. It is evident that it was not questioned in the apostolic times (Acts ii, 38; viii, 16; x, 48), nor by some Christians in Cyprian's time (*Ep.* 63), nor by Ambrose or the author of the *De Spiritu Sancto*, i, 111. Theologically it could also be defended, as it

carries with it a reference to the whole Deity, with which Christ is organically related. There is a valuable note on Hatch's and Harnack's theory of early Church organization, which Rainy refuses to accept for reasons which we think sufficient, though he fails to do justice to what Hatch indubitably showed—the sociological forces which were aiding and even making inevitable the episcopal development. There are other points in Hatch's contribution which also remain. The footnotes and references to the sources and literature are very meager, and the bibliographical appendix is fragmentary and incomplete, but the narrative is on the whole rich, sound, and satisfactory, the ripened fruit of a profound theologian who we devoutly hope may live to carry the work on into the announced volume on *The Later Catholic Church*.

The Theology and Ethics of the Hebrews. By ARCHIBALD DUFF, M.A., LL.D., B.D., Professor of Old Testament Theology in the Yorkshire United Independent College, Bradford, England. 8vo, pp. xvii, 304. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This is the fourth volume in the Semitic Series, of which Professor Craig, of the University of Michigan, is the general editor. Scholars will probably welcome this number of the series as they have those which have preceded, but it will not prove as useful to the general reader as they have proved. Dr. Duff is an able scholar, but one with strongly marked individuality of opinion, and his present work exhibits both his ability and his individuality to a pronounced degree. The book has, therefore, value to those who can use it with discrimination, and, at the same time, a grave defect in not being representative of the soundest thinking among biblical students generally. The author's idea is to present the ethical and theological thinking of the Hebrew people in the *words of their own writers* beginning with the earliest and ending with the writers of the exile. But, instead of these *ipsissima verba*, we have a distinctly Duffian interpretation of their meaning. It is an eloquently expressed interpretation, but not that which a majority of competent scholars accept. In a popular book this is a pity, and in this case all the more a pity because the author has written in a charming literary style. He has enthusiasm, imagination, and a certain Hebraic love of the concrete which make it a delight to read his book. It is not with the author's sketch of the general course of Hebrew thought that we find most fault. Our strongest protest is against the too frequent extravagance of particular interpretations throughout the volume. The youth Moses is regarded as probably an Egyptian, and the Levites to whom he belongs are camp followers of Egyptian nationality who left Egypt with the hosts of Israel. Hosea the prince may have been the same as Hosea the prophet. Judah is a poor little country, too poor in the opinion of the Assyrians to be worth having. Yahweh is a rain god; his name means "he who causes to fall;" hence, among the Hebrews, "He who causes rain to fall." These are instances of many similar

positions taken by the author without adequate support. Dr. Duff has made a mistake in not carrying his sketch beyond the writers of the exile. He does not do so because he believes that "in those writers Hebrew religion and ethics attain their climax, completion, and close" (Preface, p. ix). But there was a later Judaism which immediately continued the religion and ethics of these writers and whose views are set forth, as theirs are, in the literature of the Old Testament. To have completed the period represented by the entire Old Testament would have given a more symmetrical view of the subject. Dr. Duff has a splendid vision of the thoughts which moved and made those old-time Hebrew men, and a full appreciation of the human element in their literature. Some features of this book attract, but its advanced positions on many points will prevent its being safely or profitably used by those who are not trained in the methods of modern biblical research.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Top or Bottom—Which? By ARCHER BROWN, A.M. 12mo, pamphlet, pp. 51. New York: Post & Davis.

This is an inquiry into the causes of success and failure in life from the standpoint of a successful business man. Its ten short papers are addressed to the big boys in American homes who are confronting manhood, and the young men who hope to succeed. Its force and impressiveness are added to by five brief introductions from Bishop Fowler, President Angell (of the University of Michigan), Hamilton W. Mabie, Irving Bacheller, and Andrew Carnegie, the last of whom has this to say to young men: "Aim for the highest; never enter a barroom; do not touch liquor; never speculate; never indorse beyond your surplus cash fund; make the firm's interest yours; break orders always to save owners; concentrate; put all your eggs in one basket, and watch that basket; expenditure always within revenue; lastly, do not be impatient, for, as Emerson says, 'No one can cheat you out of ultimate success but yourselves.'" Among Mr. Brown's own wise counsels is this: "Some things should be crystallized into habit: Careful thinking on every subject; assimilating the knowledge that comes from observation and reading; correctness in conversation and manners; physical exercise and regular hours; religious work; Bible study; prayer; the old-fashioned virtues (the solvent of all the financial, social, and economic questions now agitated)—industry and economy; method in work of every kind." And this: "There seem to be two ways only of dealing with hard things: First, is to succumb. Yield to that tired feeling. Give up mathematics because it's tough. Drop history because it's dull. Give up the fight for the top in business because it takes so much effort. Abandon the desire of religious life because it is hard to resist sin. Follow this line of surrender two or three years; then examine your backbone, and

see how your whole capacity for achievement—mind, moral strength, and conscience—has been weakened until you are an incapable, perhaps forever, like most of the lunkheads around you. But try first the other thing: Grapple the first difficulty that comes up. Wrestle till you down it, if it takes till break of day. Get on top of it with both feet. First the bear, then the lion, then Goliath. (David worked up by degrees to the giant.) Master the problem in mathematics, and know the joy of victory; the hard things in other studies, and see what tonic to the mind; the hardest thing in your day's work at office or shop, and see how strong you will be for the next day; the temptation that assails you, and feel the joy of deliverance. Master your lower nature, and know what it is to have God's approval." In Mr. Brown's paper on "The Amusement Question" is this: "It is a pretty fair assumption that if a large element in society, representing probably the best in culture, refinement, and morals, has for generations agreed upon certain diversions as dangerous and harmful, there is something more than religious cant and prejudice back of the sentiment." The pamphlet closes with the maxims which the elder Rothschild posted on the walls of his bank: "Shun liquors. Dare to go forward. Never be discouraged. Never tell business lies. Be polite to everybody. Employ your time well. Be prompt in everything. Pay your debts promptly. Bear all trouble patiently. Do not reckon upon chance. Make no useless acquaintances. Be brave in the struggle of life. Maintain your integrity as a sacred thing. Never appear something more than you are. Take time to consider, and then decide positively. Carefully examine into every detail of your business." This bracing booklet is sure to do good to every boy or young man who reads it, and is not without stimulating value for older men, because that is true which Irving Bacheller quotes from Jed Feary:

> There's a many big departments in this ancient school o' God,
> An' ye keep right on a-larnin' till ye lay beneath the sod.

Standeth God Within the Shadow. By DAVID STARR JORDAN. 12mo, pp. 23. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Price, white leatherette, 35 cents.

This reverent essay contains truth—part of the truth, not all—concerning the things of which it discourses. It aims to promote what the author regards as a larger faith, a faith in a Providence as broad as the universe and resident in all of its operations. It thinks evil is simply uncompleted good—a lack of adaptation, failure in structure, or failure in intent. Those best adapted to conditions survive, and have abundance of life, which is the basis of all enjoyment. "Of all elements of adaptation the kindly relation of individual to individual, indicated by the word love, is the most effective, the one most promoting the abundance of life. Therefore we may declare on the evidence of science that 'God is love.'" Concerning Positivism the author says: "There is a church in London devoted to the worship of Humanity. Though its minister is the gifted essayist, Frederic Harrison, the congregation is but

seventy from all the millions of the world's largest city. Man cannot worship himself. He must have Some One higher to revere and adore." The universe is built on, and insured by, the eternal righteousness of God. An Arab proverb says, "If God should wink at a single act of injustice the whole universe would shrivel up like a cast-off snake-skin." God is not subject to the unwise, selfish, and unrighteous will of man. A certain ambitious pulpit orator renounced his religion, it is said, because he would no longer serve a God who "would do nothing for him." Because his prayers had not made him rich, or powerful, or famous, or successful, he would cease to pray. So he left the ministry, became a lawyer, and entered the service of Tammany Hall, which could and doubtless did "do something for him." "Thy will be done, and may Thy will be mine," is the proper close of all petitions from men to God. Unity of man's will with God's will makes that man to be like one of the forces of nature. He becomes a child of destiny. Those who oppose him will marvel at the strength his apparent weakness seems to cover. Such leaders, from David to Gustavus Adolphus, from Moses to Chinese Gordon or John Brown, have seemed to their enemies to be more than men. No man could trouble Paul, because he bore on his body "the marks of the Lord Jesus," whose he was and whom he served. The sense of this high alliance sometimes casts out fear and gives an almost supernatural coolness. The Governor of Virginia said of John Brown at Harper's Ferry, "The gamest man I ever saw." The grizzled old Puritan was not thinking of his enemies when the governor thought he looked brave. "Nobody sent me here," he answered to his inquisitors; "I obey only my own promptings and those of my Maker; I acknowledge no master in human form." And when his moldering body lay quietly under the morning shadow of the big Adirondack bowlder his spirit animated a host of other men. His soul went marching on until even those who hanged him on the gallows lived to rejoice that with his death the gigantic evil he assailed received its mortal wound. The closing thought of Dr. Jordan's brief essay is in verse which intimates the splendor, the patience, and the calm that abide with the soul which, having renounced all but Duty, is strengthened by his vision of the face of the Most High who standeth veiled from other men in shadow:

> There was a Man who saw God face to face,
> His countenance and vestments evermore
> Glowing with light that never shone before.
> And men, anear Him for a little space,
> Were sorely vexed at the mysterious light.
> They bore His body to a mountain height,
> And nailed it to a tree; then went their way.
> And He resisted not nor said them nay,
> Because He always saw God face to face.

INDEX.

A Call to Preach, What Constitutes: *Carlton,* 80.
A Chemical Correction (Arena), 807.
A Curious Custom (Arena), 804.
A Fair Trial for Christianity (Arena), 803.
A Happy Heart, How to Keep, Bishop Ninde, W. R. Alger (Notes and Dis.), 280.
A Help to High Living (Notes and Dis.), 454.
A Proposed Cathedral at Spires (For. Out.), 824.
A Study in Human Nature (Arena), 631.
A Study of Philanthropy—Lord Ashley, Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury: *Hyde,* 263.
Advance in Science, The Religious Use of: *Poucher,* 849.
After the Minister's Vacation—What? (Itin. Club,) 814.
Agnosticism at the Grave: *Harrison,* 230.
Alphabet, The Origin of the Semitic: *Patton,* 400.
American Democracy, Types and Hopes of: *Stevenson,* 237.
Annual Conferences as a Factor in Ministerial Education (Itin. Club), 476.
Antiquity of Writing (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 304.
Apocalypse, The Heart of the: *Storms,* 97.
Apology, The Latest, for Renan (Notes and Dis.), 116.
Arthur Edwards—Editor: *Herben,* 513.

Baalbek (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 816.
Baker: Maurice Hewlett, 550.
Barth, Fritz (For. Out.), 144.
Bashford: Prophecy, 345.
Beattys: Essential Characteristics of the Preacher, 274.
Beginnings of Hebrew Monotheism—The Ineffable Name: *Warren,* 24.
Behrends, Dr., on Old Testament Criticism (Notes and Dis.), 785.
Bishop Merrill on the Higher Criticism (Notes and Dis.), 624.
Blakeman: Poets of the Nineteenth Century, 87.
Blichfeldt: James Russell Lowell as Viewed from Our Generation, 883.
Bonnell: The Debt of the Christian World to Ruskin, 526.
Book of Daniel, The (Arena), 128.
Bowman: Isaiah's Prediction of the Mother of Messiah, 939.
Brewster: The Need of a Missionary Training Institute, 597.
Browning, Christ *and* (Arena), 629.
Browning's Philosophy of Religion and Theory of Life: *Helm,* 47.
Browning's "Saul," Elements of Hebrew Literature in: *Watters,* 219.
Bumstead: The Hebrew Sanctuary—Was It One or Manifold? 108.
Bushnell, Horace, The Theology of: *Stevens,* 692.

Call to Preach, A, What Constitutes: *Carlton,* 80.
Can the Pope Designate His Successor? (For. Out.,) 824.
Carlton: What Constitutes a Call to Preach, 80.
Carlyle on Death as a Blessing (Notes and Dis.), 281.
Catechism of Ministerial Courtesy (Itin. Club), 138, 299.
Catechism, Ought Question 51 of, to Remain? (Arena,) 633.
Cathedral at Spires, A Proposed (For. Out.), 824.
Cause and Cure of Poverty, The (Arena), 295.
Century, the Nineteenth, Poets of: *Blakeman,* 87.
Characteristics, Essential, of the Preacher: *Beattys,* 274.
Chemical Correction, A (Arena), 807.
Childhood Religion, Wesley and Other Methodist Fathers on: *Rishell,* 778.
Christ *and* Browning (Arena), 629.
Christ or Browning—Which? (Arena,) 298.
Christ, The Preexistence of (Arena), 465.
Christian Progress, The Dynamics of (Itin. Club), 303.
Christian Song, Pagan Notions in (Arena), 130.
Christian World, Debt of the, to Ruskin: *Bonnell,* 526.
Christianity, A Fair Trial for (Arena), 803.
"Christianity, What Is?" Harnack's (For. Out.), 487.
Christianity, What, Then, Is? *Shaw,* 576.
Christ's Recipe for Happiness (Notes and Dis.), 959.
Church and Education, The: *Goucher,* 177.
Church Congress, Protestant Episcopal (Notes and Dis.), 953.
Church, The, and Higher Education: *Hickman,* 741.
Church, The Roman, as a Financial Institution (For. Out.), 984.
Concerning Immortality (Arena), 298.
Conference, The Third Ecumenical: *Swift,* 211.

Courtesy, Catechism of Ministerial (Itin. Club), 138.
Critical Descriptive Catalogue of All Editions of the Discipline from 1785 to 1808: *Tigert*, 356.
Criticism, Bishop Merrill on the Higher (Notes and Dis.), 624.
Criticism, Old Testament, Dr. Behrends on (Notes and Dis.), 785.
Criticisms, Unjust (Arena), 803.
Culture of Jesus's Family, The: *Sitterly*, 726.
Custom, A Curious (Arena), 804.

Daniel, The Book of (Arena), 128.
Das Gebet in der Ältesten Christenheit. Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung (For. Out.), 982.
Das Mosaische Strafrecht in seiner geschichtlichen Entwickelung (For. Out.), 147.
Day: Pastoral Visiting and Pulpit Strength, 877.
Debt of the Christian World to Ruskin, The: *Bonnell*, 526.
Debt of the Republic to the Preacher: *Quayle*, 708.
Decay of the Pastoral Habit, The (Itin. Club), 974.
Democracy in Germany, The Growth of Social (For. Out.), 148.
Development of Goethe's Ethical and Religious Views, The: *Faust*, 755.
Die Bedeutung des Todes Jesu nach seinen Eigen en Aussagung auf Grund der Synoptischen Evangelien (For. Out.), 309.
Die neutestamentliche Lehre von der Seligkeit und ihre Bedeutung für die Gegenwart, dargestellt (For. Out.), 981.
Discoveries at Priené (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 479.
Discoveries at Susa (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 140.
Discipline, Critical Description of All Editions of, from 1785 to 1808: *Tigert*, 356.
Divine Majesty, Magnify the (Notes and Dis.), 121.
Divinity of Christ, Gladstone's Belief in (Notes and Dis.), 280.
Dynamics of Christian Progress, The (Itin. Club), 302.

Ebers, Georg, on Professor Gustav Baur's Views on the Exodus (Notes and Dis.), 953.
Ecclesiastical Affairs in Switzerland (For. Out.), 311.
Ecumenical Conference, The Third: *Swift*, 211.
Editor—Arthur Edwards: *Herben*, 513.
Education, The Church and: *Goucher*, 177.
Edwards, Arthur—Editor: *Herben*, 513.
Elements of Hebrew Literature in Browning's "Saul:" *Watters*, 219.
Encyclopædia Biblica and the New Testament (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 975.
Essai sur le mysticisme speculatif en Allemagne au quatorzieme siècle (For. Out.), 310.
Essential Characteristics of the Preacher: *Beattys*, 274.
Eucken, Rudolf (For. Out.), 644.
Evangelical Ministerial Supply in Bavaria (For. Out.), 312.
Evangelisationsfragen, in lutherischem Sinne erwogen (For. Out.), 146.
Evolution of Freedom in Mexico, The: *Locke*, 439.
Expression: *Warren*, 9.

Faith Healing and the Early Christians (Arena), 292.
Faust: The Development of Goethe's Ethical and Religious Views, 755.
Financial Burden of Romanism in Spain, The (For. Out.), 647.
France, Pastoral Support in (For. Out.), 984.
Franklin: Lowell's Appreciation of Howells, 112.
Freedom, Evolution of, in Mexico: *Locke*, 439.
French Revolution, Rationale of: *Hunt*, 537.

German Female Teachers, Insanity Among (For. Out.), 488.
Germany, The Growth of Social Democracy in (For. Out.), 148.
Geschichte der katholischen Kirche im neunzehnten Jahrhundert (For. Out.), 823.
Giffin: More Liturgy or More Life, 71.
God in His Own World: *Palmer*, 603.
Goethe's Ethical and Religious Views, The Development of: *Faust*, 755.
Good Templars Abroad, The (For. Out.), 488.
Goodwin, Dr. W. R., on the Resurrection (Arena), 805.
Goucher: The Church and Education, 177.
Grail, The Holy, The Legend of: *Withrow*, 253.
Grave, Agnosticism at the: *Harrison*, 230.
Gross, C. (For. Out.), 485.
Growth of Social Democracy in Germany, The (For. Out.), 148.
Gunkel, Hermann (For. Out.), 821.

Hammell: The Religion of a Scholar-Poet—A Study of Lowell's "The Cathedral," 610.
Harnack's "What is Christianity?" (For. Out.,) 487.
Harrison: Agnosticism at the Grave, 230.
Harrison: Those Laymen of Palestine, 772.
Heart of the Apocalypse, The: *Storms*, 97.
Hebrew Literature, Elements of, in Browning's "Saul:" *Watters*, 219.
Hebrew Monotheism, Beginnings of—The Ineffable Name: *Warren*, 24.
Hebrew Sanctuary, The—Was It One or Manifold? *Bumstead*, 108.
Hellenic Ideals, Irene on (Notes and Dis.), 281.
Helm: Browning's Philosophy of Religion and Theory of Life, 47.
Herben: Arthur Edwards—Editor, 513.
Hermann, Wilhelm (For. Out.), 145.
Herrick on Wesley and Methodism (Notes and Dis.), 450.
Hewlett, Maurice: *Baker*, 550.

Hickman: The Church and Higher Education, 741.
High Living, A Help to (Notes and Dis.), 454.
Higher Criticism, The, Bishop Merrill on (Notes and Dis.), 624.
Higher Education, The Church and: *Hickman,* 741.
History, The Idea of Redemption in: *Plantz,* 388.
History, The Idea of Redemption in (Arena), 967.
Holy Grail, Legend of the: *Withrow,* 253.
Homiletic Value of the Late Revision of the Scriptures (Itin. Club), 474, 811, 970.
Homily on the Story of Lazarus and His Sisters (Itin. Club), 135.
Howells, Lowell's Appreciation of: *Franklin,* 112.
Hugo, Victor, as a Writer: *Wilker,* 412.
Human Nature, A Study in (Arena), 631.
Hunt: Rationale of the French Revolution, 537.
Hyde: Lord Ashley, Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury—A Study of Philanthropy, 263.

Idea of Redemption in History, The: *Plantz,* 388.
Idea of Redemption in History, The (Arena), 967.
Idealism in Ethics (Notes and Dis.), 285.
Ineffable Name, The—Beginnings of Hebrew Monotheism: *Warren,* 24.
Insanity among German Female Teachers (For. Out.), 488.
Inspiration, The Question of (Arena), 469.
Interpretation, The, of the Spiritual Life: *McFarland,* 427.
Invalid Year, John Wesley's: *Young,* 592.
Isaiah's Prediction of the Mother of Messiah: *Bowman,* 939.

James Russell Lowell as Viewed from Our Generation: *Blichfeldt,* 883.
Jesus's Family, The Culture of: *Sitterly,* 726.
John Wesley's Invalid Year: *Young,* 592.
June, A Walk Along a Railroad in: *Quayle,* 63.
Justin Martyr: *Morelock,* 197.

Kautzsch, Emil (For. Out.), 979.
König, Dr., A Reply to: *Warren,* 689.
Kreyenbühl, Johannes (For. Out.), 643.

La vie future d'apres le Mazdéisme à la lumière des croyances parallèles dans les autres religions, étude d'eschatologie comparée (For. Out.), 485.
Laity, The Place and Work of the, in the Church: *McLennan,* 924.
Lance, Dr., on the Resurrection (Arena), 472.
Lance: Philosophy of the Resurrection, 223.
Latest French Protestant Statistics (For. Out.), 312.
Laymen of Palestine, Those: *Harrison,* 772.
Lazarus and His Sisters, Homily on the Story of (Itin. Club), 135.
Le Quatrième Evangile, son origine et sa valeur historique (For. Out.), 822.
Legend of the Holy Grail, The: *Withrow,* 253.
Life, More Liturgy and More (Arena), 462.
Life, More Liturgy or More: *Giffin,* 71.
Life, The Interpretation of the Spiritual: *McFarland,* 427.
Lipsius, F. R. (For. Out.), 309.
Liturgy, More Life and More (Arena), 462.
Liturgy, More Life or More: *Giffin,* 71.
Locke: The Evolution of Freedom in Mexico, 439.
Lord Ashley, Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury—A Study of Philanthropy: *Hyde,* 263.
L'origine de l'episcopat. Étude sur la fondation de l'église, l'œuvre des apôtres et le développement de l'épiscopat aux deux premiers siècles (For. Out.), 645.
Lowell, James Russell, as Viewed from Our Generation: *Blichfeldt,* 883.
Lowell's Appreciation of Howells: *Franklin,* 112.
Lucian on the Philosophers of the Second Century: *Smith,* 915.

Magnify the Divine Majesty (Notes and Dis.), 121.
Majesty, Magnify the Divine (Notes and Dis.), 121.
Martyr, Justin: *Morelock,* 197.
Maurice Hewlett: *Baker,* 550.
McFarland: The Interpretation of the Spiritual Life, 427.
McKinley on Divine Providence and Church Membership (Notes and Dis.), 280.
McLennan: The Place and Work of the Laity in the Church, 924.
Messiah, Isaiah's Prediction of the Mother of: *Bowman,* 939.
Method, The Scientific (Arena), 969.
Mexico, The Evolution of Freedom in: *Locke,* 439.
Milton, John, on Immortality (Notes and Dis.), 280.
Mims: Robert Louis Stevenson, 417.
Ministerial Courtesy, Catechism of (Itin. Club), 138, 299.
Ministerial Education, The Annual Conference as a Factor in (Itin. Club), 476.
Minister's Vacation, After the—What? (Itin. Club.) 814.
Miracles: *Nicholson,* 899.
Missionary Training Institute, The Need of a: *Brewster,* 597.
Monotheism, Hebrew, Beginnings of—The Ineffable Name: *Warren,* 24.
More Liturgy and More Life (Arena), 462.
More Liturgy or More Life: *Giffin,* 71.
Morelock: Justin Martyr, 197.

Mormonism a Menace to Sacred Interests (Notes and Dis.), 450.
Mother of Messiah, Isaiah's Prediction of the: *Bowman*, 939.
Mudge: Wordsworth: An Introduction, 370.
Music, Lanier on (Notes and Dis.), 282.

Need, The, of a Missionary Training Institute: *Brewster*, 597.
New Sunday School, The (Arena), 807.
New Testament, Encyclopædia Biblica and (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 975.
Nicholson: Miracles, 899.
"Niedergefahren zu den Toten." Ein Beitrag zur Wurdigung des Apostolikums (For. Out.), 645.
Nineteenth Century, Poets of: *Blakeman*, 87.

Objective and Subjective—A Study in Paulinism: *Wallace*, 861.
Oettli, Samuel (For. Out.), 980.
Old Testament Criticism, Dr. Behrends on (Notes and Dis.), 785.
Origin of the Semitic Alphabet, The: *Patton*, 400.
Ought Question 51 of the Catechism to Remain? (Arena,) 633.
Outlook for Temperance, The (Notes and Dis.), 621.

Palestine, Those Laymen of: *Harrison*, 772.
Palmer: God in His Own World, 603.
Papyri (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 639.
Pastoral Habit, The Decay of the (Itin. Club), 974.
Pastoral Support in France (For. Out.), 984.
Pastoral Visiting and Pulpit Strength: *Day*, 877.
Patton: The Origin of the Semitic Alphabet, 400.
Paulinism—A Study in. Objective and Subjective: *Wallace*, 861.
Philanthropy, A Study of—Lord Ashley, Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury: *Hyde*, 263.
Philosophy of Religion and Theory of Life, Browning's: *Helm*, 47.
Philosophy of the Resurrection: *Lance*, 223.
Place and Work of the Laity in the Church, The: *McLennan*, 924.
Plantz: The Idea of Redemption in History, 388.
Poets of the Nineteenth Century: *Blakeman*, 87.
Pope, Can He Designate His Successor? (For. Out.,) 824.
Poucher: The Religious Use of the Advance in Science, 849.
Poverty, The Cause and Cure of (Arena), 295.
Prayer (Arena), 471.
Preacher, Debt of the Republic to the: *Quayle*, 708.
Preacher, The, Essential Characteristics of: *Beattys*, 274.
Preexistence of Christ, The (Arena), 465.
Priene, Discoveries at (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 479.
Prophecy: *Bashford*, 345.
Protestant Episcopal Church Congress (Notes and Dis.), 953.
Pulpit Strength, Pastoral Visiting and: *Day*, 877.

Quayle: A Walk Along a Railroad in June, 63.
Quayle: The Debt of the Republic to the Preacher, 708.
Question of Inspiration, The (Arena), 469.

Railroad, A Walk Along in June: *Quayle*, 63.
Rationale of the French Republic: *Hunt*, 537.
Redemption, The Idea of, in History: *Plantz*, 388.
Redemption, The Idea of, in History (Arena), 967.
Regeneration a Miracle (Notes and Dis.), 450.
Religion, Browning's Philosophy of, and Theory of Life: *Helm*, 47.
Religion, Childhood, Wesley and Other Methodist Fathers on: *Rishell*, 778.
Religion of a Scholar-Poet—A Study of Lowell's "The Cathedral:" *Hammell*, 610.
Religious Orders and the Roman Catholic Episcopate (For. Out.), 147.
Religious Use of Advance in Science, The: *Poucher*, 849.
Religious Use of Water, The: *Stalker*, 191.
Renan, The Latest Apology for (Notes and Dis.), 116.
Republic, The Debt of, to the Preacher: *Quayle*, 708.
Resurrection, Dr. Lance on the (Arena), 472.
Resurrection, Dr. W. R. Goodwin on the (Arena), 805.
Resurrection, Philosophy of the: *Lance*, 223.
Resurrection, The—A Rejoinder (Arena), 966.
Reviews and Magazines:
American Journal of Theology, 493, 825; Atlantic Monthly, 313, 651, 826; Century Magazine, 491; Contemporary Review, 985; Critical Review, 142, 317, 648, 825; International Monthly, 149; North American Review, 315; Presbyterian and Reformed Review, 153, 489, 649; The Critic, 987; The Hibbert Journal, 989.
Rhetorician, St. Paul as a: *Sherwood*, 36.
Rishell: Wesley and Other Methodist Fathers on Childhood Religion, 778.
Robert Louis Stevenson: *Mims*, 417.
Roman Catholic Episcopate, Religious Orders and the (For. Out.), 147.
Roman Church as a Financial Institution (For. Out.), 984.
Revolution, French, Rationale of the: *Hunt*, 537.
Ruskin, The Debt of the Christian World to: *Bonnell*, 526.

Sanctuary, The Hebrew—Was It One or Manifold? *Bumstead*, 108.
Saxon Protestantism and Cremation (For. Out.), 646.
Schwarz, Hermann (For. Out.), 820.
Science, The Religious Use of Advance in: *Poucher*, 849.
Scientific Method, The (Arena), 969.
Scriptures, Homiletic Value of the Late Revision of the (Itin. Club), 474, 811, 970.
Sea, Sunrise at (Notes and Dis.), 620.
Semitic Alphabet, The Origin of the: *Patton*, 400.
Shaw: What, Then, Is Christianity? 576.
Sherwood: St. Paul as a Rhetorician, 36.
Sibilation, Was Tennyson Guilty of? (Arena,) 297.
Sidney Lanier on Music (Notes and Dis.), 282.
Sitterly: The Culture of Jesus's Family, 726.
Smith: Lucian on the Philosophers of the Second Century, 915.
Social Democracy in Germany, The Growth of (For. Out.), 148.
Spiritual Life, The Interpretation of the: *McFarland*, 42.
St. Paul as a Rhetorician: *Sherwood*, 36.
Stalker: The Religious Use of Water, 191.
Step, The Next, in the Temperance Movement: *Thompson*, 565.
Stevens: The Theology of Horace Bushnell, 692.
Stevenson, Robert Louis: *Mims*, 417.
Stevenson: Types and Hopes of American Democracy, 237.
Storms: The Heart of the Apocalypse, 97.
Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde nach dem babylonischen Exil (For. Out.), 486.
Subjective, Objective and—A Study in Paulinism: *Wallace*, 861.
Suggestions from the Biography of an Eminently Successful Pastor (Itin. Club), 634.
Sultan's Gift to German Scholars, The (For. Out.), 647.
Sunday School, The New (Arena), 807.
Sunrise at Sea (Notes and Dis.), 620.
Susa, Discoveries at (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 140.
Swift: The Third Ecumenical Conference, 211.

Temperance Movement, Next Step in the: *Thompson*, 565.
Temperance, The Outlook for (Notes and Dis.), 621.
Templars, The Good, Abroad (For. Out.), 488.
Tennyson, Was He Guilty of Sibilation? (Arena,) 295.
"The Cathedral," A Study of Lowell's —The Religion of a Scholar-Poet: *Hammell*, 610.
The One and the Many in the Church (Notes and Dis.), 955.
The Outlook for Temperance (Notes and Dis.), 621.
Theology of Horace Bushnell, The: *Stevens*, 692.
Thompson: The Next Step in the Temperance Movement, 565.
Thoreau's Philosophy of Life (Notes and Dis.), 954.
Tigert: Critical Description of All Editions of the Discipline from 1785 to 1808, 356.
Training Institute, Missionary, The Need of a: *Brewster*, 597.
Types and Hopes of American Democracy: *Stevenson*, 237.

Unjust Criticisms (Arena), 803.
Use of Water, The Religious: *Stalker*, 191.

Vacation, After the Minister's—What? (Itin. Club,) 814.
Value, Homiletic, of the Late Revision of the Scriptures (Itin. Club), 474, 811.
Victor Hugo as a Writer: *Wilker*, 412.

Walk Along a Railroad in June, A: *Quayle*, 63.
Wallace: Objective and Subjective—A Study in Paulinism, 861.
Warren: A Reply to Dr. König, 689.
Warren: Beginnings of Hebrew Monotheism—The Ineffable Name, 24.
Warren: Expression, 9.
Was Tennyson Guilty of Sibilation? (Arena,) 295.
Was the Religion in Abraham's Native Country Monotheistic? *König*, 681.
Water, The Religious Use of: *Stalker*, 191.
Watters: Elements of Hebrew Literature in Browning's "Saul," 219.
Wendt, H. H. (For. Out.), 308.
Wesley and Methodism, Herrick on (Notes and Dis.), 450.
Wesley and Other Methodist Fathers on Childhood Religion: *Rishell*, 778.
Wesley's, John, Invalid Years: *Young*, 592.
"What is Christianity?" Harnack's (For. Out.), 487.
What, Then, is Christianity? *Shaw*, 576.
Wilker: Victor Hugo as a Writer, 412.
Withrow: The Legend of the Holy Grail, 253.
Wordsworth, An Introduction: *Mudge*, 370.
World, God in His Own: *Palmer*, 603.
Writer, Victor Hugo as a: *Wilker*, 412.
Writing, Antiquity of (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 304.

Year, John Wesley's Invalid: *Young*, 592.
Young: John Wesley's Invalid Year, 592.

Zapletal, Vincent (For. Out.), 484.

BOOK NOTICES.

A Modern Apollos: *McIntyre*, 176.
A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious: *Barton*, 505.
Abraham, The World Before: *Mitchell*, 341.
Acts of the Apostles, The: *Lumby*, 328.
Addams: Democracy and Social Ethics, 666.
Ancient Catholic Church, The, from the Accession of Trajan to the Fourth General Council: *Rainy*, 1011.
Apollos, A Modern: *McIntyre*, 176.
Apostles, The Acts of the: *Lumby*, 328.
Apostolic Optimism: *Jowett*, 664.
Autobiography and Sermons, John Alexander Roche, 510.

Babylonian History, Early, Down to the Fourth Dynasty of Ur: *Radau*, 339.
Banks: The Great Saints of the Bible, 175.
Barton: A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious, 505.
Beginnings of Poetry, The: *Gummere*, 676.
Behold the Man: *Delitzsch*, 997.
Bible Lands, Religions of: *Margoliouth*, 680.
Biblical Interpretation, A — Unto Heights Heroic: *Eldridge*, 158.
Black: Encyclopædia Biblica, 318, 658.
Blind Spot, The: *Watkinson*, 654.
Bottom, Top or—Which? *Brown*, 1014.
Bradford: Spiritual Lessons from the Brownings, 154.
Briggs: School, College, and Character, 332.
Brooks by the Traveller's Way: *Jowett*, 992.
Brown: Top or Bottom—Which? 1014.
Browning, Robert, as a Religious Teacher: *Pigou*, 1002.
Brownings, Spiritual Lessons from the: *Bradford*, 154.
Bryce: Relations of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind, 1006.
Burroughs: Indoor Studies, 329.

Chance, Time and: *Hubbard*, 343.
Chapman: Mounds, Monuments, and Inscriptions, Illustrating Bible History, 171.
Character, Nature and, at Granite Bay: *Goodsell*, 999.
Character, School, College, and: *Briggs*, 332.
Cheyne: Encyclopædia Biblica, 318, 658.
Christian Life, The Naturalness of: *Keedy*, 680.
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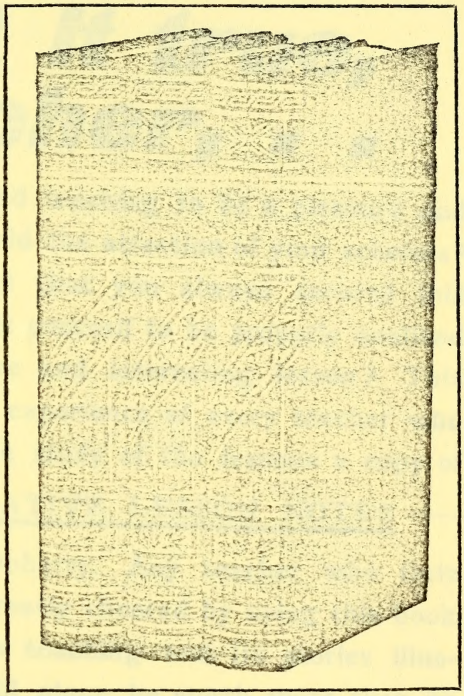

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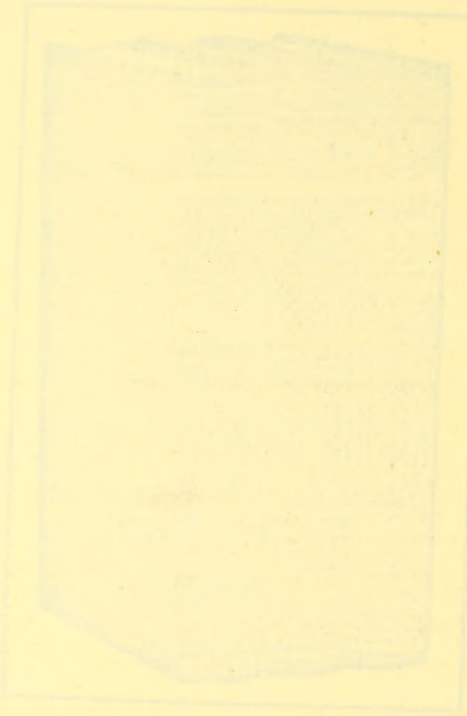

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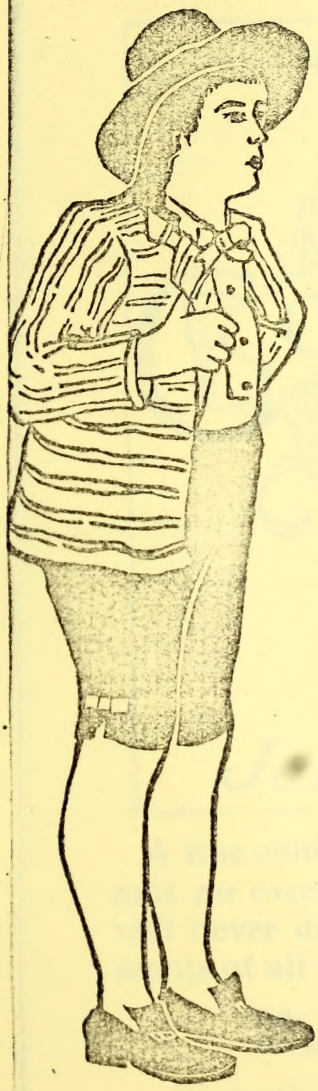

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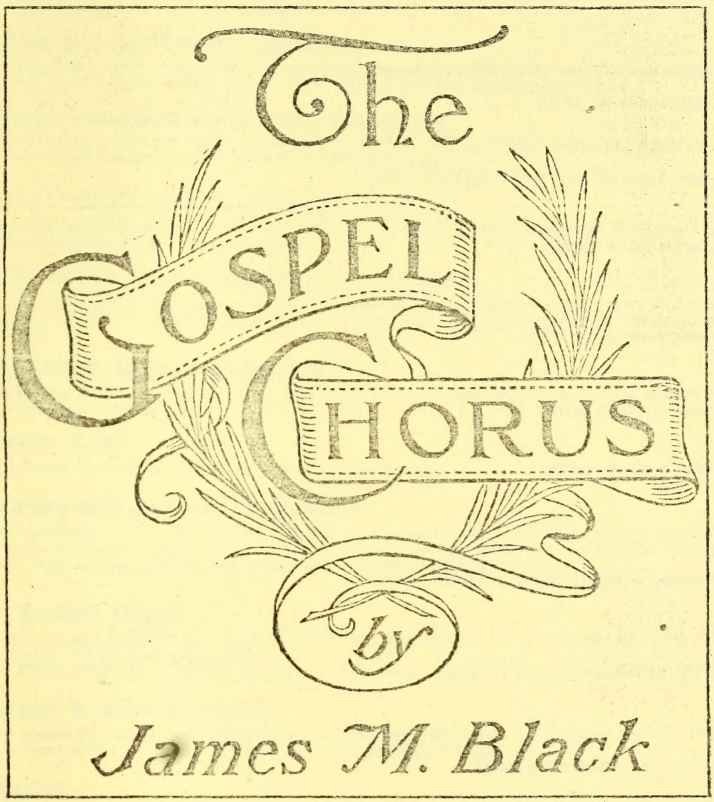

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